

GENEALOGY DEPARTMENT

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01736 1145

GENEALOGY  
977.7  
AN7A  
1910-1911

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. IX. NO. 5.

APRIL, 1910.

# ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

EDGAR R. HARLAN, Curator.

---

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

---

DES MOINES, IOWA.

82 6948.3

ANNALS OF IOWA

---

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1910

---

*Miscellaneous*

Azro Benjamin Franklin Hildreth (Portrait) . . .	321
GEORGE D. PERKINS	
Escape from Confederate Prison (Two Portraits, Group) . . . . .	337
CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH	
Trial of John Brown . . . . .	359
GEORGE E. CASKIE	
The Defoe Family in Iowa (Portrait) . . . .	380
MRS. ONA ELLIS SMITH	

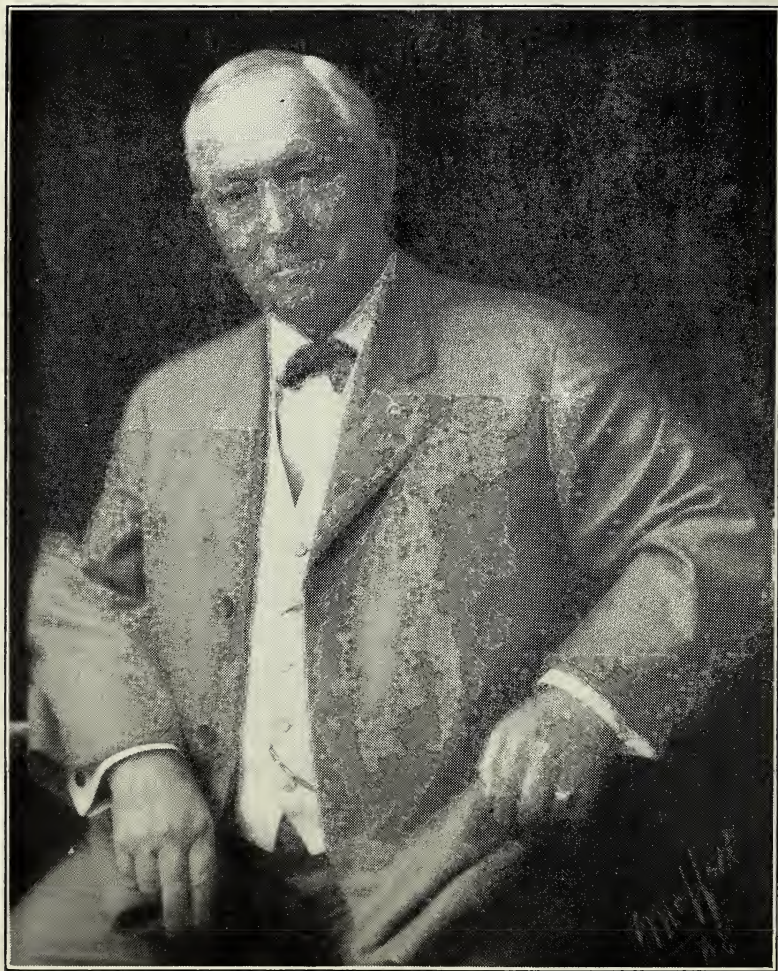
---

*Editorial Department*

Sundry Unjust Burthens . . . . .	385
Abraham Lincoln and His Clients (Facsimile Letter)	389
New Publications . . . . .	391
Notable Deaths (Portrait) . . . . .	393

X726922





Godfrey



# ANNALS OF IOWA.

---

VOL. IX, No. 5.

DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL 1910.

3D SERIES.

---

## AZRO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HILDRETH.

BY GEORGE D. PERKINS.

When I came to Iowa in the latter part of the second month in the year 1860 and engaged with my brother in planting a newspaper at Cedar Falls, in Black Hawk county, Azro Benjamin Franklin Hildreth had been established in like business at Charles City, Floyd county, since the summer of 1856. Floyd county is in the second tier of counties north of Black Hawk, and by that measure in that early day it was deeper in the wilderness. Mr. Hildreth was my senior by exactly twenty-four years, for we were born in the same month and on the same day of the month, which time, rather oddly, was the 29th of February. What attracted my early attention, however, was the fact that Mr. Hildreth was at the head of his class in Cedar valley.

My first meeting with Mr. Hildreth was during the political campaign of 1864. The late Senator Allison was first chosen to the House of Representatives in 1862, and in 1864 he was elected to his second term. Prior to 1862 the State was divided into two congressional districts, as defined in the act of 1847 and the amendatory acts of 1848 and 1857. The census of 1860 gave Iowa a largely increased population, an increase of more than 250 per cent. in ten years. Under the ratio fixed by Congress the State was entitled to six representatives in Congress, and under the act of 1862 districts were made accordingly. The Third District included the counties of Dubuque, Clayton, Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Buchanan, Floyd, Chickasaw, Bremer, Fayette and Delaware. Black Hawk was in the Sixth District, which included Marshall, Story, Boone, and that line of counties to the Missouri River, and all counties west of the Third District and north to the State line. There was no railroad north or west of Cedar Falls. I was invited to join the Allison party for the north-

ern excursion, and it was on that trip that I first saw Mr. Hildreth and his famous printing-office.

Mr. Hildreth was a New Englander of the old school. He was forty years of age when he came to Iowa, and his steady habits he brought with him. He was born in the town of Chelsea, Orange county, Vermont, on the 29th of February, 1816. His father was Daniel Hildreth, a native of Massachusetts. While residing in New Hampshire, Daniel Hildreth married Clarissa Tyler, a native of that State. Another branch of the Tyler family produced John Tyler, who was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1840 on the ticket with William Henry Harrison, and who succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of Harrison in 1841. The Hildreths trace their genealogy back to Richard Heildreich who reached Massachusetts colony in 1640, twenty years after the arrival at Plymouth Rock of the precious cargo of the *Mayflower*. He was so well thought of that he was made the recipient of a grant of 150 acres of colony land.

The blood of the fathers was in the veins of A. B. F. Hildreth. He was the first born of twelve children, equally divided as to sex. He was brought up in the New England way, industrially and religiously. The Hildreths were farmers, and had been time out of mind, and Azro's early years were passed in close intimacy with agricultural pursuits. The name Azro was his mother's choice, and Benjamin Franklin was interjected by his father, out of admiration for the great man of Philadelphia. It was a good deal of a name for a young man to carry, and in course of time he came to be known to the family in general as Frank, though the mother stuck to her first choice.

Mr. Hildreth admitted late in life that his name had to do with the direction of his ambitions. He was perhaps temperamentally exceptional in his family in his love of books. This was so marked that it entered into the plan of his father to assist the young man to a college education, but the plan did not mature. He had the opportunities common to the New England boy of his class, but he improved these opportunities in an uncommon way. At the age of four years he was per-

mitted to enter the district school, and "his young heart leaped for joy." During his school days "it was his constant effort and pride to stand at the head of his class, and in this he was successful beyond the majority of his schoolmates." Aside from the district schools, he attended academies of the neighborhood, and the branches taught in these "institutions of learning" were such as "were deemed most essential in the ordinary transaction of business." Such was his industry and capacity that at the age of sixteen years he was engaged to teach a district school. He was successful in that undertaking, the more to his credit because among his pupils he had "grown up" young men and young women. "The large girls called him their beardless schoolmaster." His reports of that experience indicate that he was conscious of his youth, his weight of 113 pounds, and of what the school might be thinking of his assumption of mastery. This first school over which he presided was at Piermont, N. H. For several years he taught school during the winter and during the summer worked on the farm, an experience common to bright young fellows of his time in the New England States. Among other things he made himself a master of penmanship, and he occupied available time in this relation after he was through with the winter terms. He taught writing school at different times in Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He wasted no time. He not only looked to an honest penny, but he neglected no opportunity to better his education. Before taking up his winter school teaching, he was glad to attend the fall term of a neighboring academy. By hard work and persistence he provided himself with a liberal education.

In 1891 a little book was printed in Charles City, dedicated "to the wide-awake, enterprising and go-ahead boys and girls of the American union," the copy for which was provided by Mr. Hildreth and turned over to the late Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, to edit. Mr. Aldrich had suggested to Mr. Hildreth that he ought to write and publish his biography, and it appeared that Mr. Hildreth had the manuscript prepared. Mr. Aldrich consented to act as editor, "although I knew," as he sets forth in the preface,



“that any writing which came from Mr. Hildreth’s pen would require little at the hands of any editor.” In preparing this sketch I shall borrow from this book, and at this point the following is introduced:

When only nine years old, little Azro was placed in a private boarding house in Chelsea village for the purpose of attending the high school there. Among the different branches of study given him was that of English grammar. In a few weeks he had committed to memory and recited to his teacher the entire contents of his grammar book, a text-book prepared by Prof. Rufus Nutting, at that time principal of Randolph, Vt., Academy. The teacher of the high school had not taken much pains to explain the rules laid down in the grammar book. But one day, while visiting home, the mother, who was a good grammarian for those days, gave the lad some lessons in parsing, and showed him the relations which words composing a sentence bore to each other. When required to apply the rules which he had memorized, he at once saw their application, and from that time ever afterwards he was fond of the study and became an excellent grammarian. Usually, with most students, grammar is a dry, dull study, and is generally disliked by new beginners. Not so with Azro. He was delighted whenever the grammar class was called for recitation or for exercise in parsing.

I am prepared to believe this. In my early experience in Cedar Falls the fact was developed that Mr. Hildreth retained his partiality for English grammar. I had printed something indicating a difference of opinion on some matter dealt with by *The Intelligencer*. Mr. Hildreth’s reply was brief, devoted mainly to pointing out an error in grammar. It may be that I wished I had not provoked the reply, but the lesson was of such benefit to me that I doubt whether I have made the same error since.

When Mr. Hildreth was nineteen he had plans to go to Michigan in company with Washington A. Bacon, a farmer’s son of the neighborhood, who had settled in Detroit. Young Hildreth expected to continue his studies in the west and he entered into the arrangement most heartily. He was to meet his friend in Albany, New York, and thither, with much solicitude on the part of his parents, he repaired. The business of young Bacon in the east was to procure a wife; and, for

some strange reason, he did not meet young Hildreth in Albany. The disappointed Azro took a steamboat and landed in New York. He found temporary employment in the publishing house of Thomas George, Jr., at No. 4 Spruce Street. Then he was taken sick. Before his landlady really turned him out under conviction that he had smallpox, it was developed that he had a case of measles. On his recovery he went to Paterson, New Jersey, where he engaged himself to teach a select school. But Mr. George sent for the young man to come back; and when he presented himself again at No. 4 Spruce Street, "the office boy told Mr. Hildreth that he had heard Mr. George say he was determined to have Mr. Hildreth if he could find him, for he knew he was honest." The incident goes to show that office boys were as office boys now, and that the perplexities of men in business then had much in common with the perplexities of men in business at the present time.

But another change was in store for the young man; and let the book explain:

Mr. Hildreth remained in the employment of Mr. George during the season of 1836 and enjoyed his fullest confidence. He was often entrusted with large sums of money, and was frequently sent out to make collections, not only in the city but to the various cities up and down North river, out in New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the fall he was sent to Vermont for the purpose of establishing agencies for the sale of his employer's publications, with the privilege of visiting his home and enjoying a winter vacation, fully expecting to return to New York in the spring. But when spring came there came with it the great financial crash of 1837, and Thomas George, Jr., his employer, went down in the general ruin. All the banks in the United States suspended payment, thousands and thousands of business men failed, and it was said that 40,000 clerks in New York city were thrown out of employment.

There was nothing for the young man to do but to resume work on his father's farm. Soon, however, an opening was presented to him to learn the trade of a printer in the office of William Hewes in Chelsea. When he had completed his engagement with Mr. Hewes, young Hildreth went again to New York, where he found employment on the *American*

*Family Magazine*, published by J. S. Redfield, at No. 13 Chamber Street. Subsequently he was employed on the *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the Dutch Reformed church. The office was in Ann Street, and in the same building Horace Greeley was making a hard struggle with his *New Yorker*. "On one Saturday," Mr. Hildreth remembered, "Mr. Greeley, failing to obtain money enough to pay off his help, sat down and cried over his hard luck."

In 1839, being then twenty-three years of age, Mr. Hildreth determined to go into business for himself. He located in Lowell, Mass., and began the publication of a weekly paper called the *Literary Souvenir*. He added a daily publication called the *Morning News* and a semi-monthly publication called the *Ladies' Literary Repository*. The daily failed for want of sufficient support, and in the winter of 1842 he sold the *Souvenir* and *Repository* to a Methodist clergyman and an abolitionist lecturer, the purchase price being mainly in notes given by these enterprising reformers, and the notes were never paid.

Mr. Hildreth then went to Boston, where he connected himself with the printing house of S. N. Dickinson, on Washington Street; and Mr. Hildreth entertained the opinion that no man in America up to that time had done more than Mr. Dickinson to improve the art of printing.

But in the fall of 1842 Mr. Hildreth was induced to go to Bradford, Vermont, and re-establish himself in the newspaper business. He started the *American Protector*, of Whig politics and an earnest pleader for a high protective tariff, with Henry Clay as the ideal candidate for president. After the defeat of Clay in 1844, the *Protector* gave way to the *Vermont Family Gazette*. He added the *Green Mountain Gem*, and the revenue from the two publications gave him a comfortable support. In 1852, having been ten years in Bradford, Mr. Hildreth sold out to a returned Californian, Ezra Southworth, who paid the purchase price in gold. The establishment was removed to White River Junction, Vermont, and a little later the entire property was consumed by fire.



Mr. Hildreth's last stand in New England was at Holyoke, Massachusetts, to which place he removed in 1853, after settling up his business at Bradford. At Holyoke he established the *Mirror*, which he conducted until the fall of 1855, when he sold to M. C. Pratt. Mr. Hildreth made money in Holyoke, but he was induced to sell "by the more flattering temptations held out to him by parties then interested in opening up a new and magnificent town in the then far west, viz.: Charles City, in Floyd county, Iowa."

When Mr. Hildreth arrived in Charles City, in the spring of 1856, he found himself in a new world. The change exhilarated him. His spirits were buoyant and his hope bright. "Here was opened before him a broad field for enterprise and usefulness." Business was not overdone in his new home. Newcomers were not set upon by angry competitors and treated as interlopers. Men were wanted and welcomed. The situation at this distance, however, was not altogether alluring, as may be gathered from this summary:

In those early days Charles City contained a population of only a few hundred. Not a dozen frame houses were to be seen in the whole town, the others being built of logs and several families were "dwellers in tents." Provisions were very scarce and could only be obtained at high prices. The few settlers who had come into the county during the previous year had raised but a small quantity of farm produce, not nearly enough to supply the rapidly increasing demand of the immigrants who succeeded them. The nearest market was Dubuque, distant 145 miles, and thither teams were dispatched to procure the necessities of life.

The first white settlement in Floyd county was made by Joseph Kelly, who established his home on the site of a deserted Indian village on the Cedar River, formerly the home of Chief White Cloud and his band of Winnebagoes. In 1853 Mr. Kelly laid out a part of his claim into town lots and named the place St. Charles. This was the Charles City which offered welcome to Mr. Hildreth in 1856, the county seat of Floyd county. In 1858 there was a vote on the question of removing the county seat to the geographical center of the county, and Charles City lost by a vote of 453 to 434; but in subsequent proceedings, in some way known to early

history, actual removal was prevented. Mr. Hildreth from the first found plenty to engage his attention.

Mr. Hildreth had purchased his newspaper outfit in New York, and he had also bought in that market a chest of carpenter's tools. During his first months in Charles City he was carpenter and builder, and he was boss mechanic on the job of putting up the "Intelligencer Building." Much of the material he delivered on his own back from the Kelly saw-mill. The building was made two stories, the first story for mercantile purposes and the second story for his printing-office. On the 31st of July, 1856, he issued the first number of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. It is presumed that he took the name from the *Christian Intelligencer* upon which he had been employed in New York. Bishop Berkeley's line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," was made the motto of the *Republican-Intelligencer*. The first impression of the paper was sold at auction and brought \$20. Such was the demand for the paper that three editions were printed of 1,000 each. In 1857 the paper was enlarged, though prematurely, as the hard times of that and the following year brought proof, but Mr. Hildreth permitted no backward step. In 1862 the name of the paper was changed to *Hildreth's Charles City Intelligencer*. Business conditions in the Cedar valley were improved by the Civil War, and general prosperity attended all of Mr. Hildreth's business affairs.

Mr. Hildreth made the *Intelligencer* first-class. He put into it the best of his life. He made it representative of his high moral standards, and he made it in a large sense independent in politics. The paper was always Republican, but it did not favor men calling themselves Republicans apart from the principles he held to as his guide. Necessarily he met with opposition, but he had the courage to meet it, and talk of killing the paper did not alarm him. He neither fell under the influence of designing men, nor did he at any time lower the standard of his paper. He kept his paper clean. He extended his strict rules to advertising matter, and advertising he thought objectionable he excluded, though the money temptation at times was severe.

On the 1st of October, 1870, after a little more than fourteen years of hard work with the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth sold the paper to Dyke and Rowell, and permanently retired from the business. He was then in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The book giving Mr. Hildreth's memoirs says:

Among Mr. Hildreth's contemporaries, during nearly fifteen years of editorial life in Iowa, may be mentioned your humble editor, Charles Aldrich, then of the *Hamilton County* [Webster City] *Free-man*; Frank W. Palmer and J. M. Dixon, of the *Des Moines Register*; Clark Dunham, of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*; L. D. Ingersoll, of the *Knoxville Journal*; John Mahin, of the *Muscatine Journal*; J. B. Howell, of the *Keokuk Gate City*; Charles Beardsley and Lieut.-Gov. Needham, of the *Oskaloosa Herald*; Perkins brothers, of the *Cedar Falls Gazette*; N. H. Brainerd, of the *Iowa City Republican*; Lieut.-Gov. Gue, of the *Fort Dodge North-West*; Ed Russell, of the *Davenport Gazette*; Tom Drummond, of the *Vinton Eagle*; Willis Drummond, of the *McGregor News*; J. L. McCreery and Jesse Clement, of the *Dubuque Times*; Frank M. Mills, of the *Des Moines School Journal*; and many others who might be named—all of whom left their impress upon the institutions and habits and character of the people of Iowa.

Of this list the writer of this sketch knows of but one who is still in active newspaper work, and with few exceptions all others mentioned have departed from this world.

Enough has been said to suggest that Mr. Hildreth brought his religion with him from New England. He was one of the incorporators of the First Congregational Society in Charles City, and was for several years chairman of its board of trustees. The church was organized in 1858, and five women and three men at that time constituted the entire membership. Mr. Hildreth himself was inclined toward the Unitarian wing of the New England Congregationalists, but in his new home he was free to enter into the church relation indicated as the next best thing.

Mr. Hildreth always took a deep interest in the cause of education. In 1858 he was elected to the State Board of Education, representing a district composed of the counties of Allamakee, Winneshiek, Howard, Mitchell, Floyd, Chickasaw, Fayette, Clayton, Bremer and Butler. The State was divided



into eleven districts, and Mr. Hildreth's was the Tenth. The board held biennial sessions in Des Moines and had control of all the educational interests of the State, aside from such as were represented in private and sectarian institutions. Mr. Hildreth took an important part in the business of the board. He was a strong advocate of co-education, and he was most influential in the work of securing legislation requiring that the State University, located at Iowa City, be opened to young women the same as to young men. His success in this undertaking gave him much satisfaction. A few years later he was privileged to address the students of the University at a chapel meeting, and he confessed that it was one of the proudest moments of his life to appear there in the presence of more than 200 young women students and nearly as many young men students. For many years Mr. Hildreth was a member of the school board of Charles City and much of the time its president. He took an active interest in the free public library of the city, contributed money and books and his valuable counsel. When it passed under the control of the city, he was elected one of the directors and continued in that relation several years. Wherever educational work was to be done Mr. Hildreth was qualified to lead.

In the early part of the Civil War Gov. Kirkwood appointed Mr. Hildreth draft commissioner for Floyd county. He attended faithfully to the duties of the place, disagreeable as they might be. In a letter to his mother, August 24, 1862, he said :

On Friday the mail brought me an appointment from the governor of the state as "commissioner of draft for Floyd county," devolving upon me the duty of appointing an examining surgeon and an enrolling officer, and attending to and managing all the business of drafting soldiers in the several townships in this county for the war. This is a very responsible and at the same time unpleasant duty. The unpleasantness rises from the fact that, while this business is being transacted, nearly every family is in a state of suspense and anxiety lest a husband, a father, a son, a brother, may be drafted; snatched from them, and at once hurried off to the war. Great prudence and discretion are needed in the transaction of this business, and a large amount of writing and correspondence with

the governor and adjutant general has to be done. I shall endeavor to do my duty as faithfully as possible, without favor or partiality. The war feeling all through this country is intense. Ten companies were called for from this congressional district, and we have already raised twenty-five—all done within two weeks! Oh, what a terrible war this is! The world has hardly ever known the like of it. Possibly we shall never be able to subdue the south, but I hope so. We shall be borne down with taxes for many years to come.

Fortunately, no draft was required in Floyd county, nor in Iowa.

In 1863 Mr. Hildreth was elected to the Legislature from the fifty-fourth representative district, and the following January took his seat as a member of the Tenth General Assembly. He was made chairman of the committee on schools and State University, and had membership on the committee on banks and banking and the committee on printing. He was greatly interested in the proposed line of railroad west from McGregor. He secured the adoption of a strong memorial to Congress asking for a grant of land to aid in the construction of the proposed line. Previous efforts to obtain favorable congressional action had failed, and Mr. Hildreth applied himself to the task with his accustomed energy and prudence. He was constant in his correspondence with the Iowa senators and representatives, and the grant was made under act of May 12, 1864. Mr. Allison, under date of May 5, 1864, wrote to Mr. Hildreth as follows:

I have succeeded in getting through the house for you my McGregor land grant bill. It will also pass the senate; probably today. This bill is preferable to Senator Harlan's for the reason that it is of present benefit to the railroad company. Mr. Harlan's bill only allowed the railroad company co-terminous sections of land to road actually built, thus compelling them to build 150 miles or more of road before they could get any lands. Under my bill they draw lands for every ten miles, and must build twenty miles each and every year or forfeit the grant. Mr. Harlan will accept the proposition. Judge Hubbard, from Sioux City, has faithfully stood by me in the matter, although seemingly against his interest. But he believes with me that it is better to give the company immediate aid so as to insure the completion of the road, at least to the Cedar river valley, without delay.

The act of 1864 was amendatory of the general land grant act of 1862. Originally it was supposed the road would connect with the Sioux City and Pacific, but conditions changed the early plans materially. The McGregor road was built as far west as Algona, which was reached in 1870, and there it halted for a number of years; but subsequently it was extended, as a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul system, to Chamberlain, S. D., on the Missouri River. This was the first railroad to enter Charles City, and was soon followed by the Cedar Falls and Minnesota, which became a part of the Illinois Central system.

Mr. Hildreth's other important work during his legislative service chiefly related to school matters. He introduced "a bill for an act to provide for the loan of the permanent school fund, and fixing the rate of interest thereon, and limiting the price at which school lands may be sold, and for other purposes." The bill was intended to correct existing abuses. A bill passed the house as a substitute for Mr. Hildreth's bill which simply regulated the rate of interest. In the senate he had three of the most important sections of his bill incorporated, and in this amended form the bill was returned to the house. The following from Mr. Hildreth's record will show the subsequent proceeding:

Being chairman of the standing committee on schools and state university, Mr. H. allowed the matter to lie quietly until near the close of the session, waiting for a favorable opportunity to call it up in the house. Accordingly, one evening, when the members felt humorous and had got parliamentary matters into some confusion, Mr. H. hinted the matter to the speaker, who was favorable to the bill and promised to aid in its passage. In due time the bill was called up, when, without debate, and not many knowing what they were voting on, the bill was passed by sixty-eight yeas to four nays, and thus a stop was put to the waste of the school money.

At the expiration of his term in the Legislature Mr. Hildreth was not disposed to continue the service, and the explanation is given in the following extract from a letter, under date of March 16, 1865, addressed to his mother:

It would indeed afford me pleasure to accept your invitation to call and eat maple sugar with you. I should enjoy it as much as



I did the raspberries with milk which you gathered and gave me the last time that I saw you. But I do not see how I can visit you at present. I have no suitable person to leave my business with. Good journeymen are so scarce and charge so high that I cannot afford to hire suitable hands, and my present printers would ruin everything were I to leave them in charge of my affairs. On this account I must decline going to the legislature again, although I should like to go and the people would like to send me.

No one could attend to the *Intelligencer* just as well as Mr. Hildreth could himself, and absence from home caused him much uneasiness. For something like a kindred reason, Horace Greeley found his service as a member of the house of representatives at Washington irksome, and he cut it short. He fretted constantly over the *Tribune*, and his letters home did not add to the joy of living in the *Tribune* office. Nor was Mr. Hildreth well adapted to personal politics. It is enough to say, by way of explanation, that he believed the office should seek the man.

Probably the bother over suitable help assisted Mr. Hildreth to his conclusion to sell his newspaper business. Possibly he was beginning to think of himself as an old man; at least, as a man entitled to a rest. When he sold in 1870 he was in his 55th year. He had been a hard worker from boyhood; he was in comfortable circumstances, and he desired the liberty which the disposal of his newspaper would provide.

Mr. Hildreth was not much of a traveler. He made a home visit in 1876, but both his parents were dead. His father died in 1858 in his 76th year, and his mother died in 1870, also in her 76th year. When he came west he expected in a few years to return to New England to make his permanent home. He had held out the promise to his mother in 1861 that he would pay her a visit, but he had to withdraw it. In a letter to her, under date of May 28, 1861, he said:

And now I must say that it looks as if I shall not go east this season. I had begun to lay by some money for the journey, when the banks failed (in Illinois and Wisconsin) and their money will not pass anywhere. It will sometime be redeemed at a large discount, but I don't know when. The war is causing very hard times. My business amounts to nothing, and, everything considered,

I fear I shall be disappointed in making my contemplated journey. However, we must submit to all our disappointments and afflictions as well as we can.

Business, however, was better the next year, as the following to his mother, under date of June 19, 1862, goes to show:

I had a very good journey to Milwaukee. I purchased me some clothing and groceries, also various things for Liveria [his wife] such as a beautiful bonnet, mantilla, two dresses, a gold chain for her watch (she has a nice gold watch), and various knickknacks. . . . I am having me a nice buggy made. When in Milwaukee I bought a plated harness. Father Knight [his wife's father] has bought a horse, and we intend to enjoy a ride occasionally, notwithstanding we work so hard. Now, mother, don't think we are extravagant. I should not pay out money to buy these things, but many of my patrons, who have printing and advertising, wish me to take such pay, and would not patronize me unless I would do so. I shall have to go to Milwaukee and Chicago in September, and my going to Vermont at that time will depend upon whether I can be absent from home long enough to go there, in addition to the time I must spend in attending to business in those cities, or not. It looks doubtful now, yet if I can run away a few days when I reach Chicago, you will see me. Do not depend on it, and then you will not be disappointed.

When Mr. Hildreth was on the state board of education and a member of the Legislature he made his journeys to Des Moines by team, a distance of more than 200 miles.

Mr. Hildreth was four times married. He was at Lowell when he was first married, October 24, 1839. Miss Hannah D. L. Rier, of Newburyport, was the bride. She died of consumption at Newburyport, May 20, 1841. He took his second wife the next year, marrying Miss Olive Freeman Fuller, of Paris, Maine. He was then established in business at Bradford. His wife died January 26, 1844. On the 21st day of the following October he married Miss Liveria Aurette Knight, of Fryeburg, Maine. She was one year his junior and he first knew her as one of his pupils when he taught school, at the age of sixteen, at Piermont, New Hampshire. To this union one child was born, a daughter who was named Mary. The child lived to see the new home in Iowa, but died soon after attaining her sixth year. This was a very heavy blow to both Mr. and Mrs. Hildreth. The mother of the child died in

Charles City, December 8, 1890, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, after a married life of a little more than forty-six years. In 1891 Mr. Hildreth married Mrs. Julia A. Waterhouse, formerly of Boston, but at the time a resident of Charles City. This wife survives Mr. Hildreth, who died November 29, 1909, at the age of ninety-three years and nine months.

In a letter to his mother, dated March 16, 1865, Mr. Hildreth said:

You will see by the *Intelligencer* of this week what we are doing for education in this place. My advice and assistance in all our school matters is constantly sought by our leading men, and it is flattering to thus enjoy the confidence of the community. Nearly all the resolutions and business which was transacted at our school meetings were prepared by me, and the people were rallied by my friends to sustain them, which was done by an overwhelming majority. It is pleasant to live among such whole-souled and enterprising people as we have here. Oh, that I had children to be benefited by these educational labors of mine. Then I should feel that I was receiving some compensation in return. Now, it is all for the public good, and little or none for myself.

But the appreciation he received and the good he did were compensatory in a large sense; and to render himself worthy in this regard he abated nothing of his labor and generous co-operation.

In 1871, the year following his retirement from the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Hildreth took an active part in the organization of the First National Bank, serving as director and for a time as vice-president. In 1873, when the Floyd County Savings Bank was organized, he was chosen its president. He was the prime mover in the work of organizing the Floyd County Agricultural Society, dating back to 1859. From the beginning of his time in Charles City to the end of his active life he was a leader in all the public activities of the community in which he had cast his lot and which he distinguished by his life and works for nearly fifty-four years.

The Hildreth hotel and opera house was the most substantial material contribution of his later years to the business and social needs of Charles City. This property was completed

in 1893. It was there, on Lincoln day, February 12, 1906, at a meeting under the auspices of the Sons of Veterans, that the writer last met Mr. Hildreth, then within a few days of his ninetieth year. He was the guest of honor at the banquet.

Mr. Hildreth was of the type of which the best of pioneers in northern Iowa were made. He had physical and moral health. He was steadfast in adherence to principles, and he took his conscience for his best guide. He had many difficulties and many sore trials to contend with, but he kept his lamp burning, though at times it flickered dimly in "the encircling gloom." He had great will power, yet he was never stranger to tenderness and never superior to the ties of true friendship. He had great love of home; and the love he bore his child, made manifest at the time of separation, was pathetic. He left an impress on Charles City that will not disappear; and the influence of his good life in association with his good works will not be lost as the years come and go, to that portion of the State where he was best known, and to Iowa whose foundations he so well assisted in laying.

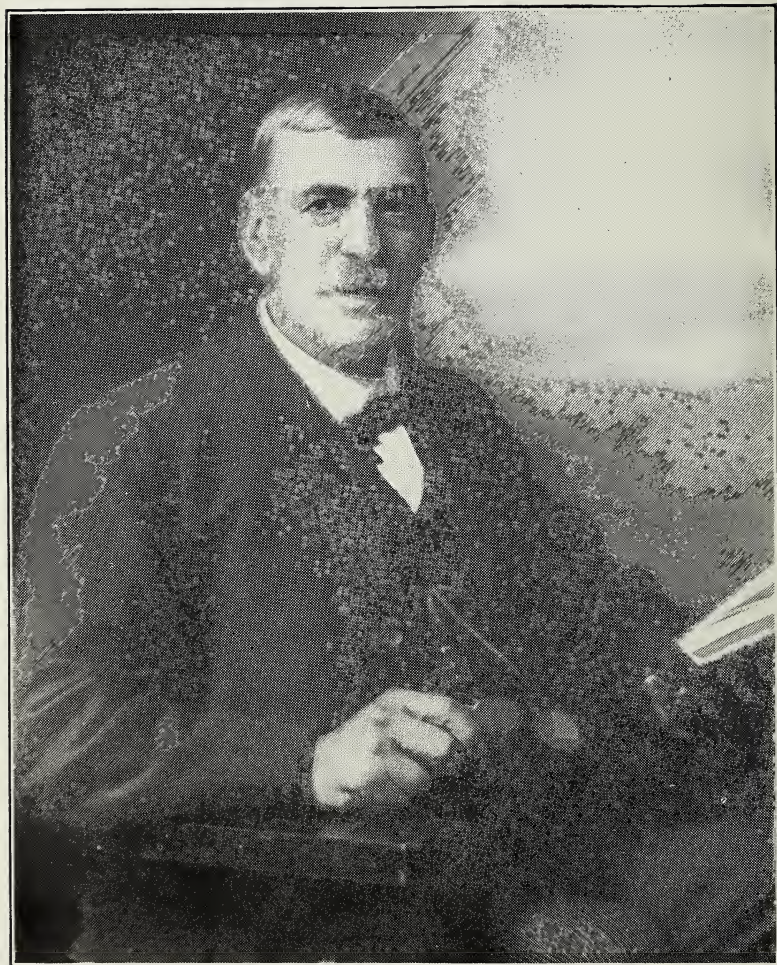
The story of every life is interesting, and the study of every good life is inspiring. Trouble and sorrow are common heritage, and victory alone is to them who make contest to the end, guarding well their integrity, bearing well their burdens, and holding fast, doing the work of the day, and keeping faith in a better tomorrow.

---

*City Scrip*—We have been favored with a sight at our new City Scrip. It is a handsome engraving, and intrinsically is no doubt better for our local purposes than much of the stuff which has been circulating amongst us. We do not know what arrangements have been made with our bankers; but in the absence of a sounder currency, we recommend the use of the Scrip in ordinary business transactions.—*Tri-Weekly Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), Jan. 15, 1858.







CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH

## ESCAPE OF IOWA SOLDIERS FROM CONFEDERATE PRISON.

BY CAPT. W. A. DUCKWORTH.

In the fall of 1863, Gen. Banks, in whose Department was the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Corps, received orders from Washington to penetrate into Texas. General Ord, who commanded the Thirteenth Corps, directed General Herron to establish his division at Morganza to observe the crossings of the Atchafalaya River, and hold Confederate General Green in check. General Herron sent Colonel J. B. Leake, of the Twentieth Iowa, with the Nineteenth Iowa, the Twenty-sixth Indiana Infantry, and 250 cavalry to Stirling's farm, about nine miles from Morganza. The following account of this engagement is quoted from "History of the Civil War in America," by the Compté de Paris:

On the evening of the 28th of September Green secretly crossed the Atchafalaya River with three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry to surprise a portion of Colonel Leake's brigade. . . . Leake had posted himself, with two regiments of infantry (the Nineteenth Iowa and Twenty-sixth Indiana) numbering about six hundred men and two cannon, at two miles from Morganza. He had placed his two hundred and fifty cavalry, under Major Montgomery, more to the westward, near Atchafalaya. Green, sending Major Boone against the latter, with a regiment of cavalry, and Mouton's and Speight's two brigades of infantry, direct against Leake, had taken a circuitous route with the rest of his troops to attack the latter in the rear and place himself on his line of retreat. Boone, being the first to attack, separated the Union cavalymen from Leake's troops, and pushing them in disorder in another direction, did not permit them to give Leake the alarm.

At the same time, Speight, followed by Mouton, marched rapidly and fell unexpectedly on the Federal infantry. The latter, surprised and hastily drawn up, defended itself energetically. But Boone's cavalry, arriving on its flank after their first success, threw its ranks into disorder, and, not even giving Mouton time to arrive, forced the swarm of fugitives on the ambushade set up by General Green. The latter picked up all that had escaped his lieutenants. There were more than one hundred men *hors de combat* but he

withdrew, taking with him two cannon and nearly five hundred prisoners.

J. Irvine Dungan, who was a member of the Nineteenth Iowa, and participated in the battle, was captured and sent to Tyler, Texas. He gives a brief notice of his escape in his "History of the Nineteenth Iowa Regiment." He states that Col. J. B. Leake protested about the insecurity of his position at the Norwood farm, and that General Vandever was sent out to investigate, and reported the position as being dangerous for Col. Leake's force. But General Herron, who was then in command of the division, would not consent to a new position. On the 28th of September things were looking so serious that Col. Leake on his own idea of the insecurity of the location at Norwood's farm, moved to the Stirling farm.

The infantry of the command made a gallant defense, and if the cavalry and mounted infantry had stood their ground, or had charged Mouton's brigade, which was then under the command of Col. Henry Grey, the result might have been different, as in that event most of Col. Leake's command might have escaped capture. Or, had information of General Green's advance in the morning been given to General Dana, then in command at Morganza, the Federal forces combined might have taken nearly all of General Green's forces prisoner, on account of his limited means of crossing the Atchafalaya River.

The men of the Nineteenth Iowa fought to the limit, and only surrendered singly or in squads, and some of them had to be disarmed by the Confederates before they would surrender.

The *Galveston News*, a Confederate paper, gives in its issue of the 20th of October, 1863, the following account of this battle:

According to the plans, Lieut. Col. Jas. E. Harrison, commanding Speight's Brigade, was to bring on the engagement with the enemy's position, four miles in the rear of their cavalry. Colonel Gray was to hold Colonel Mouton's Brigade two miles above in the direction of Morganza, to meet any reinforcement sent to the enemy from that direction. While one battalion was to follow Harrison in supporting distance, Harrison was conducted by a guide who gave but little idea of the country.







Robert L. Forbes, Jr

Harrison attacked their rear about half past 11 o'clock, on the 29th of September. His position was almost as strong as though it had been made for the purpose. He was covered on every side by ditches, embankments, fences, and levees, with a large sugar mill on his rear in addition to a large ditch and fence, inside of all this there was large negro quarters in regular streets. His force consisted of two regiments and a battalion, in force much stronger than Speight's Brigade, the latter in advancing on him had to pass through a canefield covered with vines, which while it afforded no shelter, embarrassed our troops very much. This advance was made under a galling fire from his entire force covered. He was driven from the sugar mill and first ditches to the first row of negro houses where he contested every inch of ground. Harrison made him change front by flanking him, forcing him from street to street till he was forced over the levee when he changed his front, face by the rear; here he fought desperately, using two pieces of artillery with great effect.

Harrison ordered one of the pieces to be taken, which was captured and retained during the action. The enemy now attempted to flank him, by a movement on his left by marching rapidly behind a high levee. The attempt was discovered through a gap or break in the levee. Our men were now inside, the enemy outside. . . .

While he was attempting this, Harrison flanked him with his right and with a division held his flanking column back when his left gave way, retreating across an old field covered with high weeds. At this moment, Major Boone commanding Weller's Battalion of cavalry came up with a gallant charge on his right flank, and completed the rout. The supporting force never reached Harrison, and the officers and men fought gallantly; men could not have done better. . . .

We lost twenty-seven killed and eighty wounded; and captured of the enemy four hundred and thirty-two privates and non-commissioned officers, and twenty-nine commissioned officers.

General Dana sent out a detachment under the command of Capt. Jourdan, under a flag of truce, and buried the dead of both parties.

Robert Forbes of Company I, Nineteenth Iowa, now residing at Keosauqua, Iowa, made his escape during the confusion of the surrender of the detachment. He hurriedly left the scene of the encounter, and keeping in the high weeds and cane, safely eluded the enemy. While making his way in the direction of Morganza, he encountered a man on horseback,

dressed in Confederate gray, whom he made prisoner, and walked him into Morganza. The man whom he captured proved to be Lieut. Col. Guest, either of the Fourth or Fifth Texas Mounted Infantry, then serving as dismounted. Forbes turned his prisoner over to the commander of the post at Morganza, together with his horse, which was a fine one, and his trappings, including a silver mounted Colts revolver. Forbes asked to keep the revolver as a trophy, but the officer in command would not permit it.

In this engagement the Union forces lost as follows: killed, 2 officers, 14 enlisted men; wounded, 5 officers, 40 enlisted men; captured or missing, 21 officers, 433 enlisted men, making a total of 515 men.<sup>1</sup>

The prisoners were taken across the Atchafalaya River and left standing in line all night in the rain and mud, without food and without even a chance to sit down or take any rest. As they had been hurried away after capture, they had had no opportunity to secure either clothing or food.

When morning came the Confederates issued to the prisoners flour for their only ration. The only method of preparing it was to mix it in muddy water, roll the mixture on the end of sticks and bake it by the fire. Some of the men might have made their escape, but the Confederate officers promised from the first to parole them.

The next morning the prisoners were started for Alexandria, La., eighty miles away. On this march nothing unusual occurred other than hard tramping, with little to eat and no sleeping accommodations except the bare ground. On arriving within twenty-five miles of Alexandria they were hauled to that place on a cotton tramway, aboard small flat cars. This was slow going but better than walking. Arriving at Alexandria they were quartered in the court-house, and had a ration of corn bread and cooked beef issued to them.

The Confederates repeated their promise to parole the prisoners, but next morning they were started on foot for Shreveport, La., one hundred and eighty miles distant, under escort of a detachment of cavalry. The first town through which

---

<sup>1</sup>Rebellion Records, ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, page 325.



they passed after leaving Alexandria was Mansfield, where a Major of the Mexican War, a man with a wooden leg, and who appeared to be an independent and leading citizen, brought to the prisoners a wagon load of cooked sweet potatoes, and another wagon load of cooked meat, all of which came in mighty good play.

The party rested at this place two days and were visited by a large number of women and children, who were anxious to see the Yankees. One little girl said to her mother, "Why, mamma, I don't see any horns on the men." A very aristocratic elderly lady tried to argue the questions of the war with the prisoners, but with poor results. The boys were in a situation in which they cared more for their immediate comforts than for the questions of the equity of the war. Really, the only argument they had to present was with a musket, not against the women, of course, but the army which represented their side of the case.

The next town was Mackintosh, where the following incident took place. A man brought a cart load of provisions to the prisoners' camp to sell. The boys crowded around the cart, which had a dump bed, and some one slipped out the toggle-pin, whereupon the load was dumped on the ground. This frightened the mule attached to the cart and caused it to run away, and before it could be caught and brought back the provisions were "*non est*."

Shreveport was the next town at which a stop was made, after leaving Mackintosh. The party of prisoners arrived there on Saturday, Oct. 17, 1863, after nearly a two weeks' tramp. Nothing happened on the march beyond the usual hardships incident to men in this situation. The fare was corn bread and sweet potatoes, with a little meat. The sleeping accommodations were the bare ground, without blankets or covering of any kind. Arriving at Shreveport, the prisoners were marched through the streets; a performance very humiliating to them as they were nearly naked and very dirty, having had no opportunity to change their clothing or take a bath since the day of their capture.

The boys had behaved badly here, some of them having used vile language while marching through the streets. They were called into line by a Confederate major, an ex-steamboat mate and captain, who had assumed command of the prisoners and escort. He threatened them with death and other dire punishments, unless they conducted themselves in a little more decent manner. The major announced that the prisoners were to be taken to Tyler, Texas, and that there they would have good quarters, good treatment, and would shortly be paroled.

About November 1, 1863, the party reached Tyler, Texas. Tyler is situated some one hundred and twenty-five miles from Shreveport, a little southwest and about two hundred miles north of Galveston. The prisoners' camp was located in the piece of timber near the town, where was a spring forming a branch which ran through the grounds. The officer in command of the camp, a Colonel Allen of the Confederate army, had been a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was really a very good man, and as long as the prisoners were reasonable in their conduct and demands, they had no trouble.<sup>1</sup>

Permission was given the men by the Colonel to go outside of the camp to cut fire-wood and secure something extra to eat. On these expeditions they were placed on their honor. Axes were furnished them and they were allowed to build suitable houses in which they could pass the winter in reasonable comfort, although the winter of 1863 and '64 was extremely cold, even in Texas. The prisoners, however, were not retained here all winter.

The food here was corn meal and beef, cooked by means of old-fashioned skillets and ovens, borrowed from the guards, as had been done all the way from the place of capture.

The boys found 400 U. S. Marines at Tyler who had been there thirteen months. They had been captured at Sabine Pass in the naval encounter with the Confederates. The boys fraternized with the Marines and the two parties got along nicely together.

<sup>1</sup>Colonel Allen was assassinated soon after the war. He was killed from ambush by a rifle. The authorities never ascertained by whom or for what cause.

An imaginary line, called the dead line, had been established about five feet inside the outer line of the camp. In bringing their fire-wood to camp, the prisoners stopped at a safe distance and pitched it across the dead line. Orders were strict that no prisoner should approach the dead line. A man reported for guard duty shortly after the arrival of the Nineteenth Iowa, who made threats that he never would be satisfied until he had killed a Yankee. Of course this was not a soldier from the firing line, but a home guard. Well, soon after he took his place as one of the guards, while some of the boys were pitching wood over the line of the camp, he fired his musket, the ball from which killed one prisoner and passed through the arm of another. Both these men were receiving the wood and were on the inside of the camp.

A rush was made by a lot of the prisoners for the man who had performed this dastardly act, and he would have been torn limb from limb had not their own officers interceded for milder measures. The Methodist Colonel in command called a court of inquiry and after hearing the testimony from both guards and prisoners, turned the man over to the civil authorities of the State of Texas. What was finally done with him the prisoners never learned.

In the main the prisoners were fairly well treated here. This was largely owing to the Methodist Colonel in command of the camp, who was a kindly man and seemed to have a happy faculty of getting along with everybody. They were often out on their honor and were sometimes late in getting back to camp; but most of the tardy cases were condoned by the officer on duty.

The shanties or cabins built by the prisoners were made of pine saplings and roofed with pine boughs. Such roofs kept out the wind and cold, but would not keep out the rain, of which there was an unusual amount that season for that latitude. Fire-places were built in the cabins, small logs being used for this purpose, and they were plastered inside with mud to make them fire-proof. Stick chimneys were built, coated with mud on the inside in the same way. Their Confederate hosts furnished them with boards out of which were

constructed sleeping bunks. While building the cabins the prisoners were allowed great liberty, going and coming without guards.

After completing their shanties the prisoners were employed in building a stockade around the camp. This was made of logs set upright, four or five feet in the ground, the larger logs being split. The height of the stockade was about twelve feet and a narrow platform about eight feet from the ground ran all around the inside, for the use of the guard while on duty.

A number of the prisoners made their escape from the camp at Tyler only to be recaptured, some of them within less than fifty miles of the Mississippi River, but the most of them after having gone only a short distance from Tyler. Bloodhounds, a meagre population and scarcity of food, combined to defeat the efforts of the men who tried to make their escape.

Near the end of December the prisoners taken at the battle of Stirling's farm, consisting of the Nineteenth Iowa, Twenty-sixth Indiana and the Artillerymen, were paroled in order to save guarding, and sent under escort of a squad of cavalry to Shreveport. There their paroles were withdrawn and the prisoners confined in a camp four miles below Shreveport, and about one mile back from the Red River. Here, as at Tyler, the prisoners were permitted to build cabins for shelter, boards being furnished by the Confederates for roofs and bunks. The officer in command of this camp was Colonel Theard. He was ordered to the east of the Mississippi, and in conversation with some of the prisoners said he was dissatisfied with the way the war was being conducted, and that he would desert the army when he reached a point convenient for the purpose, and go to his home in New Orleans.

After the successful escape of the seven prisoners to whom he had thus expressed himself, they met Colonel Theard at his office in New Orleans, when on their way to rejoin their regiment.

The paroles of the prisoners having been withdrawn, as stated above, two separate parties determined to effect their













in these respects, and through political and personal influence, he had been allowed to remain South and keep out of the Confederate army. It was Sledge's intention to go to his brother-in-law's house next morning as soon as he should be relieved from guard, and he promised to arrange with Green to help them get away.

After wading the creek already mentioned, and a swamp which was neck deep, the escaping party hid in some woods and tree tops opposite Green's house for the remainder of the night. When daylight came, they saw a negro on the opposite bank of the stream, to whom they signaled their wish to cross. The negro came over in a boat. It had no sooner struck the landing than all seven of the men rushed down the bank and boarded it, considerably alarming their black ferryman. He suspected who they were, however, and rowed them across, cautioning them against danger of Sledge's betraying them and admonishing them to be careful, as it was pretty dangerous around there.

Having safely crossed the stream the men hid in the woods, covering themselves securely with brush-wood, and there they remained all day. They could hear the bloodhounds baying on the other side of the river, and knew by the sound that they were being hunted by the Confederates.

When night came, two of the party made their way to the vicinity of Green's house and inquired of the negroes if their master was at home. The negroes found him and when he came out he told the men that Mr. Sledge had been there the morning before, and that everything was all right. He then sent a negro with two men to a point above the house for his skiff, telling them to row it down past the cotton-gin, about a mile below to a plantation, where they would find a yawl large enough to carry their entire party. Accordingly two of the men got into the skiff and following the instructions given by Green, succeeded after some searching (it was then after dark), in discovering the yawl. It lay in a bayou, or creek, on the north side of Red River. Meantime Green, after supplying them with bread and meat, piloted the five men down to the bayou, where they joined their companions. Green's

skiff was fastened to the bank, and the seven men boarded the yawl and proceeded down the river until daylight.

For three nights they continued their journey, floating down the stream, hiding in the timber back of the plantations in the upland during the day and concealing their boat by sinking it in some safe place.

One or two incidents in their night journeyings were somewhat exciting. Coming around a bend in the river, on one occasion, they found themselves looking full into a Confederate camp. Just beyond a town was plainly to be seen. There was no going back, of course. The banks, luckily, were high and steep, and they thrust the boat close to the shore and floated past the danger points unmolested and unseen.

The river was full of snags and drifts, and the nights being very dark, considerable trouble was experienced in steering clear of them. Rounding one of the many bends in the river, the man in the bow of the yawl, who was the lookout, seeing that they were about to strike a drift, cried out, "right" when he should have said "left." In consequence of the false directing, the boat ran against the drift sideways, partly overturning it. In their efforts to save the provisions, the men got a thorough wetting, but the boat was finally righted and they floated on. It was an old and leaky affair, and after running on the drift, leaked of course worse than ever.

On the fourth evening, having passed the hours of daylight in hiding, as usual, and coming to the place at which the boat had been sunk for concealment, no boat was found. This caused the party great alarm, for it seemed a pretty sure prelude to their capture. Careful search was made at once for the missing craft, and to their decided satisfaction it was found hidden in a clump of willows and bailed out ready for use. Some vagrant negro doubtless had found the boat by accident, raised it and concealed it with intent to take it away at his convenience. The men were not long in getting under way and were greatly relieved when out of gun shot of the locality.

After floating a part of this night, it was decided by a vote to abandon the boat and strike across the country. Navigation had grown more hazardous for various reasons, but chiefly on account of the increasing frequency of Confederate craft on the river. Accordingly the boat was abandoned and the land journey resumed. As before, the men traveled by night, being guided in clear weather by the north star and in cloudy weather by the bark on the trees.

As a means of defense each had provided himself with a cane, in the shape of a hardwood club, with a ball on the larger end whittled out with their pocket knives. These clubs were hardwood sprouts with the root attached, the roots grubbed out of the ground. For covering when lying down, there were the three blankets which it will be remembered had been "borrowed" from the saddles of the horses of the Confederate couriers before leaving the prison camp. The clothing of the escaping men, including their shoes, was badly worn. They could not have a fire, and in consequence suffered greatly from the rain and cold.

Most of the streams were crossed with the aid of rafts, which were made by binding together fence rails and pieces of drift wood by means of vines. The food and clothing were put aboard the rafts, the men, those of them who could, swimming behind and pushing it across, the others holding on. The ferrying was a matter of considerable time as at least three extra trips had to be made.

For several nights the journey was pursued without incident or adventure. But one night while traveling the main road, they were startled by the barking of a dog, which was immediately answered by a number of others, and presently the unwelcome discovery was made that they were on the edge of a town on the Red River. Lights were displayed in several windows. Retreating at once to a safe distance, they made a circuit of the place, through the woods and fields, coming upon a sheet of water, which proved to be Lake Bistineau, which they skirted until they again struck the main wagon road on the river east of the town. While thus skirting this lake the travelers came to a Spanish settlement. The

men of the place were all absent, either in hiding or in the Confederate army. The women could not speak English, but from the appearance of the travelers they had no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they were in want of something to eat. Accordingly they gathered some corn from the shocks in a nearby field, husked it and shelled it, and ground it in a stone mortar with a stone pestle, Mexican fashion. From the meal they made bread and gave to the men. Expressing their grateful appreciation as well as they could, the men journeyed on.

A large camp was passed, consisting of a Confederate wagon train with supplies for the army. Giving the camp a wide berth, they came to a point where the lake had its outlet into the Red River. This proved to be wide and deep, just how wide they were unable in the darkness to determine, as the growth of trees was dense on both banks and hung over the water. Fortunately they found a good-sized ferry-boat, of unusual length, and built after the plan of a barge, with long poles for propelling it. Boarding this boat they proceeded to use the poles vigorously until they thought they were under sufficient speed to be carried to the other shore, when the poles were dropped and they waited for their craft to make the bank. It was some time before the boat struck and the men had become alarmed, when finally one corner struck the opposite shore near the outlet to the main river. The men in front sprang ashore, the boat rebounded and those farther back had to leap into the water. It was with the greatest difficulty that they reached the shore and saved their provisions. The ferry-boat floated out into the main river and was soon lost to view. Its loss was no doubt a serious inconvenience to the Confederates in their communication with the army. The party continued to journey by night and pressed forward with the utmost speed their strength would allow, fearing to be captured and held for the loss of the ferry-boat, which no doubt would have been the severest penalty.

The distance between here and the Washta River was made without incident of note, except the meeting of rebel cavalry



squads occasionally. They were enabled to avoid them by means of one of their number walking a distance ahead, and giving a signal of alarm by striking two canes together. When the alarm was given all would leave the roadside quietly and lie down until the enemy had passed. The pine forests through which they were now passing were thinly settled and but little food could be obtained. On reaching the Washta just after dark, in a thick fog, voices were heard on the other side. Hallooing lustily, they were answered by a negro, to whom they cried out "Over!" This request was complied with by the negro coming over in a flat, capable of carrying four persons, thus requiring two trips. The negro charged fifty cents each for his services. He was paid in part, the travelers promising to pay the balance on their return next day. They represented themselves to be Confederates, belonging to Jones' brigade, which the negro had informed them on the way over was in camp a little way down the river. The fog and darkness prevented the negro from seeing how little or much they looked like Confederates. Owing to the proximity of "Jones' brigade" the party made as great a distance as was possible in their weakened condition, darkness, fog and the uneven swampy ground over which they had to pass. After they had traveled as far as they could for weariness—three or four miles—they threw themselves upon the cold ground to rest and sleep as best they could until daylight, for it was exceedingly hard to make headway in the darkness of the night.

The journey was resumed next morning due east. The day being still foggy and overcast with dark clouds, their course could only be determined by the moss on the trees. The Bayou Boeuf was soon reached and a very large stream, too, for a bayou. There were no signs of civilization here whatever, and the question of crossing the stream weighed heavily on the minds of the party. They, however, naturally started up stream, the source of which was apparently north-east, thus enabling them to increase the distance between them and the camp of Jones' brigade, which was very much to be desired. The men were so engrossed in the matter of

finding a crossing or something to cross on that they did not observe a gradual but continuous bend in the bayou to the northwest, thus causing them to curve in their line of travel. After pursuing this course for perhaps two miles they heard the tinkle of a cow bell away to their left. This was a welcome sound, for they were almost famishing from hunger. Hoping to find some trace of human life and habitation, they left the river at right angles, in the direction of the sound of the bell. After winding their way through a swampy forest wilderness of dense growth, they emerged into a small opening where the sun could penetrate and grass could grow. Here they found the bell and the cow that tinkled it. This was encouraging, for they thought something to eat could not be very far away. Casting about a little further the party discovered the exact spot where they had lain the night before. This was a little too much, as they had not realized they had made such a circuit. A council of war was held at once. There was not even a path or anything to show that the cow belonged in the direction the party wished to proceed. Every feature of the country on their course was wilderness and desolation. To go far into this wilderness without food would mean their inability to get back. Suggestions to go to Jones' camp and give themselves up were made and considered, and other features and conditions were gone over, and discussed. But the thought of home and loved ones was all prevailing, and a resolve to make one more effort, "sink or swim, live or die," for home and native land prevailed, and the party started again for the Bayou Boeuf.

Searching about for a means of getting over, they discovered what appeared to be a section of a fallen tree. On closer inspection the tree trunk turned out to be an alligator, of the largest size. The creature crawled into the water, but as it took up a position close to the shore and refused to be driven away by vigorous and repeating clubbing, it was decided not to attempt to cross the stream at that point. They therefore followed the river or bayou up for about two miles to an abrupt bend, where they came upon a well-worn path, leading directly back from the river to another bend at right angles

with the first. From this point they had a view of quite a nice plantation on the other side. Raising their voices in loud halloos, a negro finally responded, coming down to the river bank. He came over on a raft and ferried the party across. The overseer and all other white persons were absent from the plantation, and the negroes furnished the travelers with a good supply of provisions. The night of that day they slept in a swamp, after tramping and wading in swamps and bayous all day. The following morning a small stream was reached, which was greatly swollen from the recent rains. While constructing a raft from a pile of lumber on the bank, a troop of Confederate cavalry was seen passing on the road near by. Fortunately the troopers failed to discover them, or if they did, concluded they were natives. At any rate they paid no heed to them. Finishing the raft, the party crossed the stream and journeyed in an easterly direction.

In the course of this day's journey, they came to a nice looking plantation. The peach trees were in full bloom, making a pretty sight. Approaching the house, the men represented themselves as Confederates; but the inmates there found, a man and his two sisters, saw through the pretension, and insisted that they were Northern men. As the folks appeared friendly, the travelers finally confessed the truth about themselves, admitting they were Federal soldiers, escaping from imprisonment. Therefore they were invited in, the people offering to keep them in hiding for the present, and to furnish a guide as far as the Mississippi River, when they should be ready to go on. The Mississippi, they said, was about twenty-five miles distant.

The men declined the invitation and offer, but accepted with gratitude a generous supply of provisions. Proceeding on their way, they had hardly left the plantation behind, when a mounted conscript passed near them. As his path led through thick timber, the Confederate was kept so busy dodging the low hanging branches that he had no eyes for anything else, and consequently the men escaped being seen.

The food obtained had greatly strengthened all the members of the party, and their progress was now rapid. Having

had such a narrow escape from discovery by the conscript soldier, they were naturally inspired by the incident to increase the distance between themselves and that locality with all possible speed. At dark, another small stream was reached, turbulent and much swollen. It was decided not to attempt a crossing that night, so they camped near its bank. The next morning it was found that the water had subsided and they crossed with little difficulty.

The following night the men slept on the cold, wet ground as usual. Morning coming, the march was taken up and after traveling about two miles through heavy forest, with thick underbrush and briars, they reached the Macon River. Like the other streams which had been met in their journeyings, the Macon was much swollen from the spring rains. There was a large plantation just above the point at which they had struck the river. The place not being favorable for effecting a crossing, the party went back some distance, skirting the plantation, with the intention of striking the river above. When the circuit was about half made, however, the baying of bloodhounds was heard, and the creatures could be perceived, apparently on their trial. Appearances were in accordance with the facts, for when the hounds reached the river where the men had paused, they could be seen hunting around for the trail. Picking it by the aid of their keen scent, they started back on the tracks of the fleeing men.

Without hesitation the party struck across a field for the river, and hurriedly put together a raft of rails procured from the fence near the river, binding the rails with vines which fortunately grew near by. The frail raft was immediately launched and while the three men who were not swimmers, supported themselves in the water by holding to the raft, the men who could swim pushed the raft across the stream, though Ragsdale, being a good swimmer, struck out boldly alone for the opposite shore, with what provisions he could carry along on his back. In midstream he was seized with cramps, and came near drowning, but he struggled on and made the bank safely. The main party with the raft



also crossed in safety. As they climbed up the river bank, they looked back and saw the pursuing bloodhounds standing at the water's edge opposite. They now felt themselves comparatively safe, knowing that bloodhounds can not keep the scent through running water. Their conviction was strong that they were being followed. Naturally, the suspicion was in their minds that the friendly man and his two sisters, who had been so solicitous to entertain them, might be responsible for their pursuit. But whether they were or not or whether they really had been seen by the trooper in the woods, it was of course impossible to decide.

Continuing the journey, after proceeding some two miles, they came upon an abandoned cavalry camp, with the camp-fire still smouldering, and an amount of corn and cornbread scattered around. Gathering up a quantity of the bread, the men went on. The journey now lay through cypress swamps with their slimy logs to cross, cane-breaks, brushwood, and grape vines. Traveling in such a country was not exactly a pleasure jaunt, but all haste possible was made and at length the Tensas River was reached. This inlet stream to the Macon the men were anxious to place between themselves and the bloodhounds.

A large drift of logs lay near the place at which they had struck the stream, and from this it was determined to construct a raft. On walking out on the drift, however, the discovery was made that many of the supposed logs were alligators. The men tried with clubs to drive the saurians from the locality, but without success. While the raft was being put together in the edge of the river, they formed a circle around the place, watching the men as they worked. It was necessary to make no less than six trips across the stream, as the raft was only strong enough to bear the weight of two men at a time, and at each journey the alligators followed the raft, keeping close watch, apparently expecting some one to fall overboard.

Mr. E. P. Taylor, now of Greenfield, Missouri, one of the squad of escaping prisoners, has written an account of the

adventures of himself and comrades in which many incidents of an instructive kind are narrated, from which we quote the following:

Taylor and Byers, leaving their comrades in hiding, applied at the door of a house and asked for food. The elderly woman who answered their knock, said she would bake them some bread. They waited. Her first move was to go out and get some corn, which she brought in and husked. The men supposed that she was going to feed a horse which stood near at hand. But she began shelling the corn off the cob. Seeing no sign of any bread being made, the men asked the woman how soon she would get at her bread-making. She replied, as soon as she got the corn shelled and ground. They concluded they would not wait. As they were leaving they saw a hand corn-grinder and concluded that the woman would really have baked them some bread if they could have waited for the long preliminary process. This incident may indicate the primitive way in which many of the natives of that section of the southwest lived.

At another time, night having fallen, they stopped at a house where supper was served for them. There was no table in the house, but outside the door was a contrivance that answered the purpose, made in the following way: four forked sticks had been driven into the ground, slender poles laid in the forks, and on these split boards or "shakes" were laid. Now for the table service,—it consisted of two broken plates, one knife with a broken blade, and one with a broken handle, one two-tined fork with a broken tine, and to match the knife another fork with a broken handle. Rye coffee was served in two utensils, one a gourd cup, cracked, and the other a tin cup minus a handle. The coffee-pot had no spout. The only sound and whole article was the skillet. In this they cooked first the bread and then the meat. The meat was dried beef and it was very good. They bought some of it to take with them and also a good-sized cake of corn bread. In spite of the rudeness of the arrangement, the kindness of the people was genuine.

The escaped prisoners were now within fifteen miles of the Mississippi, and realizing that the nearer they approached their own line, the greater was the danger of recapture, they pushed on with fear and trembling. When Bruins Lake was reached, which is about fifty miles below Vicksburg, the men, supposing it to be the Mississippi, on approaching the bank, in their enthusiasm very indiscreetly gave three cheers for the Father of Waters. There was a small group of houses near,

and the occupants, hearing the cheering, came out to see what was the matter. An old gentleman approached the men and from him they learned that the body of water before them was not the main river but Lake Bruin; that the main river was five miles distant, and that to reach it they would have to go down and around the lake for the distance of ten miles. Guided by this information and feeling the situation to be critical, the party at once proceeded on its way with all haste.

As they finally approached the Mississippi, they came to a large plantation, and were informed by some negroes on the place that a Yankee gunboat was lying up the river guarding a lot of cotton. The smoke of the gunboat could be perceived. Turning their steps now up the river, the gunboat was reached just at twilight. As the party approached, it was challenged by the sentinel on duty. To his, "Who goes there?" the response was made, "Friend without the countersign"; whereupon one man of the party was ordered to advance and communicate.

The officer of the guard was called, and was satisfied of the identity of the travelers. The captain of the gunboat, with the paymaster, just then coming up, having been out for a walk, made inquiry as to the situation and very kindly sent the men aboard the boat. There they had an opportunity to take a good bath, and each man was supplied with a full suit of clothing. Then they sat down to supper, which included coffee, a beverage of which they had not partaken for six months.

Blankets were furnished them and they lay down for a night's rest. It seemed so much like a dream, however, the comfort and the freedom from peril, that little sleep visited their eyes.

Arising next morning, however, and having breakfast, the full realization came to them that they were indeed free.

The following day a boat was seen coming up the river, and the Captain of the *Switzerland*, which was the name of the gunboat which the escaping men had boarded, hailed her and transferred the escaped prisoners to her. They were landed at Vicksburg late the next evening. Next morning

they reported to General J. B. McPherson, who treated them kindly, inquiring very particularly into their adventurous trip in making their escape, and as to their present wants. He offered them transportation either to their homes or to their regiment. They chose the latter and within a few days proceeded to rejoin their regiment by way of New Orleans and Gulf steamer, to Brownsville, Texas, at which point they arrived without accident.

The arrival of the escaping men at the bank of the Mississippi was on the 13th day of March, 1864. They had been eighteen days on the perilous journey from the prison camp at Shreveport; a time fraught with constant danger and in which they had endured great suffering. The history of such a trip should live in the annals of our country.

The gunboat *Switzerland*, on which the escaping men had found refuge was what was known as a "tin clad," a merchandise boat, reinforced with heavy planking as a protection from musket shots in the hands of the guerrillas, who infested the banks of the southern rivers during the last two years of the Civil War.

On the same evening that the seven, whose adventures have been related, escaped from Shreveport, viz.: February 23, 1864, Sergeant B. H. Rodrick and N. E. Dawson with Corporals P. H. Grant and John Terrill also made their escape. They left Red River at the start and met with nothing beyond the usual danger and vicissitudes incident to such an undertaking.

Omer Hoskins, L. B. Cocklin, L. S. Hall, J. M. Towne, Enos Rushton, Benedict Rumer, and B. F. Goodwin also escaped at different periods of the captivity of the regiment, and came into Federal lines at various times and places.

J. Irvine Dungan, Horatio W. Anderson and Wm. McGregor were less fortunate. They made their escape from Tyler, Texas, and aimed to come into our lines at Ft. Smith; but were recaptured when near that point.

They broke jail, however, in company with Anthony C. Johnson and Wm. Greer, both citizens of Arkansas, who were



confined in the jail with them. They were captured again, unfortunately, near Little Rock, which was then occupied by the Federal troops, and from thence taken back to Tyler.

While confined in the prison camp at Shreveport, H. W. Anderson made his third escape, the last of February; and although the country was covered with water from the spring rains, reached Natchez, Miss., in safety, and rejoined his regiment.

The prisoners who remained at the prison camp below Shreveport, from whence our seven escaped, were finally returned to Tyler, and in the first week of July, 1864, the main body of the Tyler prisoners were ordered exchanged. They marched bare-headed, bare-footed and nearly naked, under the July sun, to Shreveport, where, taking boats, they steamed down the Red River. On the 22d of July, 1864, they floated out on the broad Mississippi and beheld the Stars and Stripes, feeling such a thrill of joy as only returning prisoners can feel.

---

## TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN.<sup>1</sup>

HON. GEORGE E. CASKIE.

The trial of John Brown did not establish any great legal principles, nor is it pre-eminent as a great legal battle, but the conditions out of which it grew were as momentous as those connected with any of the great contests which had preceded or which have followed it, and place it well up in the list of important trials.

In order to appreciate the position of the prisoner and the environment under which the trial was held, it will be well to review for a moment a few leading facts as to Brown himself.

John Brown's ancestors were among the Puritans who landed at Plymouth; in his veins mingled the blood of three sturdy races, the Scotch, the Dutch and the Welsh. For at least three generations the Brown family had been abolitionists, and John Brown, reared amongst such environments and

---

<sup>1</sup>Paper read before Virginia State Bar Association, August, 1909.

possessed of an intense nature, became an *intense* abolitionist. He himself attributed much of his zeal to the ill treatment of a young negro slave which had come under his observation when he was very young, and which, he said, caused him to dedicate his life to the abolition of slavery. Right well did he keep his vow.

The first idea he seems to have had on the subject, as shown by a letter to his brother Frederick, written in 1834, was to educate the slaves, being of the opinion that if he could accomplish this the slave-owners would be forced to begin the work of emancipation without delay. It was about this time that, gathering his older sons in his humble home, he and they engaged in earnest prayer for the cause of abolition, and whilst on their knees, with hands and voices raised to Heaven, each solemnly pledged himself to devote his life to an effort to abolish slavery.

In the year 1840 he was engaged as a surveyor in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, and thus acquired some information as to the country, and perhaps heard the remark which had been attributed to George Washington, to the effect that the mountains around Harper's Ferry would serve as a stronghold for the Continental Army in the event it were repulsed by the English. Subsequently Brown expressed the opinion that these same mountains were designed by the Almighty as a refuge for the fugitive slaves.

In 1846, Garrett Smith, a large landowner of New York, donated 10,000 acres of wild land in northern New York to such colored families as would settle upon, clear and cultivate it. Brown approved that plan, and in order to aid it, obtained himself a small part of this land upon which he moved with his family, and which he ever afterwards regarded as his home.

Shortly after locating in New York, Brown seems to have become very hostile to all slave-owners, and we find him in Springfield in 1847 denouncing slavery in look and language fierce and bitter, and declaring that slave-holders had forfeited their right to live, and that the slaves had the right to

resort to any means to rid themselves of their masters and gain their liberty.

In 1854 the Kansas excitement was at its height; five of Brown's sons moved to Kansas, attracted by the double inducement of finding desirable homes and of lending their aid to the effort to make Kansas a free State. In October, 1855, John Brown himself went to Kansas and played no small part in the stirring scenes which occurred in that State during the terrible struggle through which it had to pass.

During all this time Brown's views had evidently been undergoing a change, for while his zeal never abated in the least, and his determination never wavered, his idea as to the best method by which to accomplish his object materially changed. As early as 1847 he is said to have consulted with Fred Douglass and secured his approval of a scheme for transporting fugitive slaves into a free country, and protecting them until such transportation could be accomplished.

Afterwards, in discussing the Harper's Ferry incident, Brown declared that his only object was to establish on slave soil a defensible station, within reach of the Pennsylvania border, where the fugitive slaves could defend themselves until transferred, as occasion offered, through the free states to Canada.

By the year 1857 Brown had evidently reached the conclusion that his end could only be accomplished by resort to arms, for in that year he established at Tabor, Iowa, a school for military drill, and later a similar school at Springdale, Iowa. During the same year he obtained possession of 200 rifles which had been contributed by George L. Stevens of Massachusetts, for the use of the Free State people of Kansas, and began negotiating with friends for money, ammunition, etc., and in 1858 he made a trip north to raise money to be used in carrying out his scheme.

On the 3d of June, 1858, he left Boston with permission to retain the rifles, also with \$500 in gold; later he made other collections of money and contracted with a Connecticut firm for the manufacture of 1,000 pikes.

Brown does not seem to have realized the difficulty of collecting an army to be composed of fugitive slaves, nor to have realized that the placing of a pike in the hand of such men would not convert them into soldiers.

Harper's Ferry seemed well suited for his purposes. Accordingly, in June, 1859, Brown and two of his sons appeared in that neighborhood for the avowed purpose of buying a home, or renting a farm for a term of years. They gave the name of Smith, John Brown himself being known as Isaac Smith. They succeeded in renting a place known as "The Kennedy Farm," where they resided unsuspected by the neighbors until the attack on Harper's Ferry, when Brown was recognized, after his capture, by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States troops, who had known him in Kansas and who addressed him by his true name when he was captured. Brown's daughter, Ann, and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Owen Brown, kept house for them. Here they gradually received the rifles from Ohio and the pikes from Connecticut, and gathered together their men.

In August he met Fred Douglass by appointment. They met in an abandoned and long-neglected rock quarry near Chambersburg. Douglass brought with him the negro, Shields Green, while Brown was accompanied by his trusted friend, Kagi. The meeting was kept strictly secret. They remained in consultation most of Saturday and Sunday. With rocks serving as chairs, they discussed the matter in all of its details, Brown announcing his purpose to take Harper's Ferry. Douglass urged that they should adhere to the former plan of running off slaves, pointing out that Brown's plan would necessarily be fatal to all those engaged; that it would likely be regarded as an attack upon the Federal government, and would arouse the whole country. Brown thought that the whole country should be aroused. He believed that the attack upon Harper's Ferry would be as a great bugle blast at which all of the slaves and their friends would rally, and, armed with rifles and pikes, would be practically invincible. He urged Douglass to join him, but he was as immovable as Brown. When about to leave, Douglass asked Green what he



had decided to do, to which Green replied, "I believe I will go wid de ole man," and he did to the bitter end.

By the middle of October, Brown had collected at the Kennedy Farm twenty-two men, six of them negroes; these spent the days in hiding, only going out at night.

On Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, it was dark, cold and raining. Brown decided that the time for action had come. After delivering a short address to his men, he started to the Ferry with eighteen men, two being left to take care of the supplies at the farm, whilst two were sent to cut the telegraph wires, and then to protect some arms and ammunition left at a schoolhouse, about a mile from the Ferry. By half-past ten they had reached the United States Arsenal, which they broke open with sledge-hammers, and, overpowering the guard, appropriated such of its contents as they desired, and established headquarters. By midnight his men were in possession of the town and quietly patrolling the streets. Six of his men were sent out to arrest some of the more prominent of the slave-owners in the adjoining country, who were to be, and afterwards were, held as hostages.

Shortly after midnight the east-bound express train was due; four men were sent to stop it, and in this effort the negro porter was shot and killed, being the first life to be sacrificed in this enterprise. The train was detained for several hours, but finally, in a moment of weakness, Brown released it and it was allowed to go on, spreading the news of the raid and hastening the doom of the raiders.

When the citizens of the town awoke on Monday, October 17th, from twelve to fifteen prisoners had been brought into the Armory, and several bodies of slaves had been liberated. Among the prisoners was Colonel Washington, the possessor of the historic sword presented to George Washington by Frederick the Great, which Brown had especially directed should be impressed for his own use. In the early hours of the morning, as the citizens of the town appeared on the streets, they were arrested, till some forty or fifty were prisoners in the Armory; but when the town became fully awake, the citizens began to arm themselves and exchanged shots with

Brown and his men. The news spread, and as speedily as possible the State militia was called out. The Jefferson Guards, of Charlestown, under the command of Captain Rowan, arrived some time during the day. This company, together with the citizens, had so depleted Brown's forces that but six remained, and these, together with the more prominent of their prisoners, had been forced to abandon the Armory and take refuge in the engine-house, in the sides of which Brown made holes through which they could shoot. Brown had lost the major part of his men, while on the other side several of the citizens had been killed.

By three o'clock the Winchester Rifles, commanded by Captain Clarke, had arrived, and a little later the Continental Marion Guards, of Winchester, under the command of Captain Lewis Barley, were also on the grounds. These three companies of State militia, commanded by Colonel L. S. Moore, of Winchester, held Brown and his men in the engine-house until the United States Marines, eighty in number, under the command of Colonel R. E. Lee, reached the scene of action, about three o'clock on the morning of October 18th. About seven o'clock Captain J. E. B. Stuart, of the United States forces, offered Brown opportunity to surrender and release his prisoners, promising protection to him and his men and a fair trial by law. Brown declined, being willing to surrender only on condition that he and his men should be allowed to cross the river unmolested.

Fearing that some of the citizens held by Brown as prisoners might be shot, Colonel Lee ordered his soldiers to draw their loads and fix their bayonets on their guns. The door of the engine-house was battered down and Brown and his men taken prisoners, two of the marines being wounded and one killed in the effort. Brown was not to be captured, however, without resistance, and in order to effect his capture Lieutenant Green struck him over the head with a sabre and some of the soldiers wounded him with their bayonets, inflicting the wounds from which he suffered during his trial. Ten of Brown's men were killed, five escaped and the remaining seven were captured.

Excitement was of course very high, and if Brown and his companions had been put in the hands of the civil authorities, or even the State militia, to be conveyed to the jail at Charlestown, it is doubtful whether there would have been any need for a trial. They were, however, escorted to the jail by the United States Marines, whose connection with the matter then ceased, the State militia performing all the necessary guard duty from that time until after the execution.

When Brown reached Harper's Ferry his first act was to take possession of the United States property, and to overpower and remove the United States guards found there. When finally captured it was by the United States troops upon United States property, after a fight in which one of the United States Marines was killed. Were these occurrences to take place today, it will hardly be doubted that jurisdiction of the whole matter would be taken by the United States courts.

As Brown was anxious for time, and doubtless would have preferred that his trial should be held as remote from the scene of his crime as possible, it seems strange that he and his friends did not make an effort to invoke the Federal jurisdiction. It only goes to show how the rights of the States were then regarded as paramount to even that of the general government.

That no effort was made to take these men out of the hands of the law, is most creditable to Virginia. To some extent it may have been due to the conviction, which seems to have been universally prevalent, that they would be tried and convicted within the space of a very few days by the Circuit Court, then just about to hold its fall session.

The general public in and around Harper's Ferry was in no condition to give quarter to Brown or any of his men; still they were satisfied to let the law take its course, now that the prisoners were safely in the Charlestown jail, in the charge of Captain John Avis, the jailer in whose ability to hold them, especially when aided by State militia, the public had absolute confidence; then, too, the public believed that

only a day or two would be needed for the law to vindicate itself and punish the criminals.

The Virginia statute, however, provided that the prisoners should have five days' notice of the preliminary examination, and this must precede the court trial, thus a little delay was occasioned. It was during this period that Governor Wise saw and interviewed Brown. No record of this interview seems to have been preserved, but at its close Governor Wise said: "They are themselves mistaken who take him to be a mad man. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust and bleeding, and in bonds. He is a man of clear head and courage, fortitude and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected and indomitable, and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth. He is a fanatic, vain and garrulous, but firm, truthful and intelligent."

The public were not idle, however, whilst they waited for the trial. Rumors of all sorts were rife. There were those who believed that Brown would never have undertaken so perilous and impossible a task, unless there was some arrangement by which he was to be reinforced, either by the slaves who were already organized to take up the fight or by some of the abolitionists of the North, who might appear on the scene at almost any moment; the belief that a rescue would be attempted was well-nigh universal. Brown himself expected to be rescued. A gentleman who acted as one of his guards and spent one or more nights with him in his cell, told me that he expressed the opinion that he would never be executed, but that his friends in the North would make an effort to rescue him, and would succeed. This opinion, my informant says, he retained until the morning of his execution.

These conditions caused the citizens to arm themselves and the Governor to keep the State troops constantly on guard, so that from the time Brown and his men were put in jail until after his execution, Charlestown had much the appearance of a military camp.

The preliminary examination was held on October 25, 1859. The early morning found Charlestown in the possession of the



militia. Cannon were posted before the court-house and every approach was guarded by armed sentries. The town was crowded with people, not only from the immediate vicinity, but from remote sections, each and all anxious to get a view of the prisoners, and to witness the proceedings. For the most part the crowd was orderly and behaved with great circumspection. There were, however, individuals who indulged in denunciation of the prisoners and their crime. The crowd pressed against the court-house door eager to gain admission, and when finally it was opened the room filled rapidly until there was not standing room. Eight justices of the peace, Col. Davenport presiding, formed the examining board. They ascended the bench, and almost immediately the court-house bell announced that the proceedings were about to begin, and a double file of soldiers marched from within the jail and took their positions on each side of the path leading from the jail to the court room. Along this path and between these soldiers Brown and his associates were escorted in charge of Sheriff Campbell, John Avis, the jailer, and an armed guard. The Commonwealth was represented by Charles Harding, the Commonwealth's attorney of Jefferson county, and Andrew Hunter, who was appointed special prosecutor.

The Attorney of the Commonwealth made inquiry as to whether the prisoners had or desired to have counsel. Brown rose from his chair, disregarding the court, and fixing his eyes on the crowd, as if by his manner to charge that the crowd and not the justices were his judges, he said:

"Virginians, I did not ask for quarter at the time I was taken; I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, but under no circumstances will I be able to attend to my trial. I have no counsel, I have not been able to advise with any one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow prisoners, and am utterly unable in any way to attend to my own defense.

"My memory don't serve me. My health is insufficient, though improving. If a fair trial is to be allowed us there are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favor,

but if we are to be tried by a mere form, a trial for execution, you might spare yourselves the trouble. I am ready for my fate; I do not ask a trial. I beg for no mockery of a trial, no insult, nothing but that which conscience gives or cowardice would drive you to practice. I ask again to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not know what the special design of this examination is; I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the Commonwealth. I have now little further to ask other than that I may not be foolishly insulted, as only cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power."

The court assigned C. J. Faulkner and L. Botts to defend the prisoners. The preliminary examination was, of course, uneventful; a few witnesses were examined and the prisoners sent on to the grand jury, but not until Brown had again objected to the proceedings, and asked for further delay.

Despite the independent and defiant way in which Brown had addressed the examining court, he was not as indifferent to the result as it would seem; almost immediately upon his incarceration he had written to Judge Tilden of Massachusetts, asking his aid in procuring counsel from without the State of Virginia.

As soon as the preliminary examination was over, the Circuit Court of Jefferson county opened its fall session, Judge Richard Parker presiding; a grand jury was impanelled, charged by the court and sent to their room.

On the next day, October 26th, the grand jury returned a true bill against the five prisoners, Brown, Stevens, Coppoc, Copeland and Shields Green (the last two negroes) for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel and for murder, each offense punishable with death. Thomas Rutherford was foreman of this grand jury. (Cook and Hazlett were subsequently arrested, indicted and tried.) The prisoners were brought into court; Faulkner had declined to act as counsel for the defense, and Thomas C. Green, the mayor of Charlestown, had been appointed in his stead. The prisoners elected to be tried separately, and the Commonwealth elected to try Brown first. Upon his arraignment, and

before the indictment was read, Brown again asked for a postponement; his address much more respectful than that delivered the day previous to the examining justices, and his request was based upon his physical condition, making no mention of any desire to obtain other counsel. This request was presented by his attorneys. The court called the jail physician, who testified that Brown's condition was not such as to preclude his giving proper attention to the details of his trial. The court overruled the motion, and the trial was begun. Whilst the indictment was being read, Brown was supported by two of the court officers, and when it was ended he lay down upon a cot which had been placed in the court room for his use. Many of those who attended the trial have supposed that Brown need not have used this cot as continuously as he did; as a matter of fact, he spent a large part of his time there, and appeared to be but little interested in what was transpiring. He made no suggestions and gave no assistance to his counsel, but he kept sufficiently abreast of the proceedings to interpose whenever it suited him to do so.

Twenty-four veniremen had been summoned for the trial; four of these were rejected and others summoned from the bystanders. Fourteen of the bystanders were summoned before the four vacancies were filled. The panel being complete; the prisoner struck off eight, and from the remaining sixteen twelve were selected by lot, who constituted the jury. The prisoner was remanded to jail and the court adjourned until the next day. Thus ended the first day of John Brown's trial.

It does not appear just how searching the examination of these jurors was; it was remarkable, however, that in the then condition of the public mind and the universality of the feeling, that twenty-four jurors, free from exception, should have been obtained out of the first thirty-eight persons called.

When the court assembled the next morning the crowd had not diminished, nor was the military display any less imposing.

As soon as the court assembled, Mr. Botts again moved for a delay, stating that he had information to the effect that

there was insanity in Brown's family, and he desired a short time to investigate and obtain the evidence. In the midst of Botts' plea the expected took place. Brown rose from his cot, and addressing the court, he denied that there was any insanity in his father's family, denied that he was mentally defective, and took issue with the position of his attorney. Botts was taken by surprise, and did not further press the matter; but Mr. Green, his associate, after explaining his embarrassment at the situation, insisted that they were entitled to make an investigation. Mr. Hunter made a short reply. The court ruled that the request could not be considered, there being no sworn statement in support of the defense of insanity.

The opening statements were made by the attorneys for the Commonwealth and the defense, and the examination of the witnesses begun. The Commonwealth introduced a number of witnesses who testified to the facts as to the raid, practically agreeing in all the important details, and varying only to the extent men will differ in stating facts of any given transaction. It was shown that Fountaine Beckham, the mayor of Harper's Ferry, and several of its citizens, were killed by Brown and his men.

Some correspondence between Brown and Joseph R. Giddens, the leading abolitionist in Ohio, Garrett Smith, and perhaps others, together with certain documentary evidence, which included a copy of the constitution and ordinances which had been framed by Brown for the government of his followers, and which were found at the Kentucky Farm, were introduced in evidence.

The preamble to this constitution was in the following words:

"A. Whereas, Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination; in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Inde-



pendence; therefore, we, the citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court, are declared to have no right which the white man is bound to respect, together with all the other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following provisional constitution and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives and liberties, and to govern our actions."

One of the articles (No. 46) provided: "The foregoing articles shall not be construed so as in any way to encourage the overthrow of any State government, or of the general government of the United States, and we look to no dissolution of the Union; but simply to amendment and repeal; and our flag shall be the same that our fathers fought under in the Revolution."

The court adjourned for the day, before the Commonwealth had completed its testimony.

The constitution and ordinances referred to were adopted by a convention called by Brown, and denominated by him a "Provisional Constitutional Convention," which met at Chatham, Canada, on Saturday, May 8, 1858, and which was composed in the main of the men who had followed him from Kansas and such sympathizers as he had been able to gather in the neighborhood of Chatham. It was presided over by a negro preacher named Moore, and Kagi was its secretary; Brown himself being its ruling spirit.

This constitution provides the qualifications for citizenship, for a Congress composed of only one house, a President, a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Treasurer, a Secretary of the Treasury, and a Commander-in-Chief of the Army, prescribing the duties of each, and provides generally, though in a crude sort of fashion, for the conduct of the government, and the organization of the army.

Attached to this paper is a schedule which provides that the president of the convention should call another convention to fill all the offices provided for, and issue commissions to those elected. Much discussion seems to have taken place over the adoption of Article 46, but it was finally adopted with only one dissenting voice.

Immediately after the adjournment of this convention, the convention for the election of officers met in the same building; not being able to complete its labors that evening, it adjourned till Monday, May 10th, when it concluded its business and the final adjournment was had.

This convention elected the following officers:

Commander-in-Chief of the Army—John Brown.

Secretary of War—J. H. Kagi.

Secretary of State—Richard Realf.

Treasurer—Owen Brown.

Secretary of Treasury—Jas. B. Gills.

Members of Congress—Alfred M. Ellsworth and Osborne Anderson, and appointed a committee of which John Brown was chairman, with full power to fill by election, all offices provided for by the provisional constitution which might be vacant after the meeting adjourned.

This convention elected Thos. M. Kinnard to the position of President, but Kinnard was present and declined the honor; it then elected J. W. Loguen; he was not present, but great doubt was expressed as to his acceptance, and the matter was left in the hands of the committee above referred to.

None of these persons seem ever to have attempted to perform any of the duties devolving upon them except John Brown, who, as Commander-in-Chief, organized his forces, and some seventeen months later, began war at Harper's Ferry.

When, on the third day of the trial (October 28th) the court had convened and the trial was about to proceed, a young man, apparently but little more than twenty-one years of age, arose in the bar and announced that his name was George Henry Hoyt, of Boston, a member of the bar, who had come all the way from Massachusetts to defend the prisoner. Of his coming neither Brown or any one else knew. The prisoner's counsel were not disposed to permit this interference, but when Brown insisted that he should be allowed to appear, they withdrew their objection. Mr. Hunter, however, did oppose his appearing. He suggested that Hoyt was a mere boy; that he had produced no evidence of the fact that

he was a practicing attorney, and in view of his self-appointment, the court should require satisfactory evidence of his right to appear. Mr. Hunter has been much criticized by Brown's biographers and the Northern press, for this action, which they denominated as unprofessional conduct. If Hoyt's real position had been known, the populace would have relieved the situation and ended all discussion.

Judge Parker, unwilling to deprive the prisoner of any aid which he might be able to obtain, decided to dispense with formal proof in the matter and Hoyt was duly sworn in as counsel for the defense. This matter being settled, the Commonwealth proceeded with its testimony, pursuing the same lines followed the day before, and then rested its case.

The time had arrived for the defense to introduce its testimony; there had been no direct evidence to show that Brown, personally, had inflicted a single wound or injury upon any one during the conflict. There were some technical objections to be made to the indictment, or rather to the relevancy of the testimony introduced under it. It was the purpose of the attorneys for the defense to make the most of these matters, but Brown had his own ideas; he had determined the lines along which the defense was to proceed, and he was unwilling that any other course should be pursued. He had caused certain witnesses to be summoned, and he demanded that his counsel should follow the path that he had marked out. In vain Botts and Green protested; Brown was immovable, and they were finally forced to submit to his dictation.

The witnesses introduced for the defense were for the most part the gentlemen whom he had held as hostages, and the object of their testimony was to show that he was humane and considerate in the treatment of his prisoners, and did not desire unnecessarily to shed blood. This, together with the testimony showing what he alleged to be the improper treatment received by the men sent by him to negotiate terms of surrender, and especially as to the killing of Thompson, one of his men, was about all he had to offer.

The attorneys for the Commonwealth opposed the admission of this class of testimony, but the attorneys for the defense

persisted, and in one way and another succeeded in getting all the testimony before the jury, as irrelevant as it appears to have been.

Several of the witnesses for the defense failed to answer when called, but all the facts were before the jury. These witnesses would only have been cumulative.

When it appeared that the defense had about exhausted its testimony, and the trial was nearing its conclusion, Brown rose and proceeded to deliver a speech of denunciation and appeal. The trial, he declared, was a farce. His witnesses had not been compelled to appear; his counsel were not to be relied on, and he demanded that the case be adjourned and he be given further time.

No sooner was he seated than Messrs. Botts and Green retired from the case, after expressing their surprise and disgust at the reflection which had been made upon their conduct.

Thus young Hoyt was left alone in the case; and never did a young man face a more trying ordeal; he had just come to the bar, and was without experience, he was unacquainted with the law and the practice of the Virginia courts. Then, too, Hoyt must have been affected by a fact which no one in all the audience suspected, but which subsequently appears to have been established as a fact, viz.: that he had never expected or intended to defend the prisoner, but was the advance agent of a party who contemplated a rescue, if the conditions were favorable, and had assumed the role of counsel solely in order that he might have access to the jail and the prisoners so as to advise whether or not a rescue were possible, and if so, to give the rescue party needed information.

But Hoyt explained his lack of experience and knowledge of the Virginia practice, and begged for further time. Messrs. Green and Botts, although their connection with the case was ended, seconded the efforts of Hoyt, and agreed to give him such aid and assistance as they could to enable him to prepare the case. The court granted the request and adjourned until the next day; and so ended the third day of the trial.



On October 29th, the fourth day of the trial, when the court assembled, Mr. Samuel Chilton, of Washington, and Mr. Hiram Griswold, of Cleveland, Ohio, both lawyers of ability and standing, who had been secured by Brown's friends, appeared in court and were admitted as counsel for defendant. Some time was consumed by these gentlemen in the effort to advise themselves as to the situation; a little testimony to the same effect as that given the day before was submitted.

The instructions to the jury were obtained without much delay. Mr. Harding made the opening argument for the Commonwealth, and the fourth day of the trial passed into history.

The next day being Sunday, the court adjourned until Monday, October 31st.

The crowd in attendance suffered little or no diminution by the intervention of the Sabbath; Monday morning found the populace as much interested as formerly.

This, the fifth day of the trial, was consumed in the arguments of counsel, which were concluded in the early afternoon. No statement of these speeches seems to have been preserved. The known ability of the participants is a guarantee that they were forceful and able. After a short absence the jury returned into court, having found a verdict in the following words: "We, the jury, find the defendant, John Brown, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree." Signed by J. C. Wiltshire, foreman.

When the jury filed into the court room a solemn hush fell upon the audience. During an intense silence, the clerk read the verdict, and the jurors gave their assent thereto. The verdict met with the approval of all in that vast gathering; yet there was no applause, no expression of approval; silently the crowd passed from the court room, and soon after dispersed.

Brown himself received the verdict with perfect composure; he merely turned upon his cot, as if seeking a more comfortable position. He did not believe the sentence would ever be

executed; but if he had believed otherwise, he was possessed of too much nerve to weaken in the presence of his enemies.

On November 2d, Brown was brought into court for sentence. When asked by the court if he had or knew anything to say why the court should not pass judgment upon him, he said:

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

"I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer a penalty. Had I interfered in the matter which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case), had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great or in behalf of any of their friends, father, mother, brother, sister or wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This court acknowledged, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I always freely ad-

mitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done!

“Let me say one word further.

“I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt, I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite the slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

“Let me also say a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of their own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

“Now I have done.”

Again a solemn hush fell upon the crowd; for a moment there was a pause; then Judge Parker calmly sentenced the prisoner to be hanged on the 2d day of December, 1859, by the sheriff of Jefferson county; not in the jail yard, but at such other place in the county convenient thereto as the said sheriff might select.

The defendant tendered, and the court signed, three bills of exceptions taken to certain rulings of the court made during the trial.

Brown was borne back to the jail, the crowd in the courtroom not being permitted to move till he was safely in its walls.

So far as I can find there is no copy now extant of the bills of exceptions taken during the trial, and I have been unable to ascertain upon what ground they were based.

A petition for a writ of error was prepared and presented to the Court of Appeals by no less a lawyer than Mr. William Green, in which it is said that the whole field of legal learning, so far as applicable to the questions at issue, was exhausted. The writ was refused.

The State militia was kept on guard in Charlestown from the date of the trial until the day of the execution.

December 2, 1859, was an almost perfect day; when the hour for the execution arrived Brown, unaided, walked from his cell, into the wagon which awaited him at the jail door, and took his seat upon his coffin. As he ascended the hill on which the gallows stood, casting his eyes around over the landscape, he quietly remarked to those about him, that it was a beautiful day, and that a most beautiful country.

He ascended the gallows firmly and without a tremor. Spying a lone colored woman on the edge of the crowd, he waved his hand towards her and said, "Remember, I die a martyr for your race." When the time came to place the cap upon his head, he took off the old hat he wore and tossed it from him, as if to say, "I have no further use for you."

He had no statement to make. He declined to accept the services of any clergyman, though they were offered. With as little delay as possible the rope which held the trap-door on which he stood was cut, and John Brown's earthly career was ended.

That John Brown was conscientiously opposed to slavery will hardly admit of doubt. For the conscientious convictions of any man on any subject, all right-thinking men must have respect.

Brown's efforts in behalf of the cause which he had espoused, so long as they exhibited themselves in proper ways and along proper lines, are not to be harshly criticised. His indomitable will and great personal courage were most desirable qualities.



But when he announced as his creed that all slave-holders had forfeited the right to live, he ceased to be the advocate of a principle, and demonstrated that he had become an outlaw, with an utter disregard for both law and order.

When he adopted a constitution and set of ordinances so as to provide that his followers should disregard the laws of the State and the United States, and render allegiance to the government set up by him, and organized an army, however small and inefficient, to enforce his mandates, he was guilty of treason.

When, in spite of his own constitution, he declined to seek the remedy for the ills of which he complained by "Amendment or repeal of existing laws," and forcibly released slaves and arrested their owners, he became subject to the penalties prescribed by the statute in such case made and provided. When he gathered together a body of men, armed them with guns and pikes with which to kill and slaughter, and put that intention into effect, he became a murderer.

He met with no mob violence. An able and impartial judge presided at his trial, able lawyers looked to his defense. Every fact was proved in evidence. His guilt was absolutely established, and whatever divergent views may have existed upon the question of slavery, all fair and impartial minds must concede that the judgment was just and the penalty properly inflicted.

---

*Hamilton County*—The editor of the Freeman of Webster City offers a premium of \$10 to the boy under 18 years of age, who shall raise in Hamilton county the best acre of corn in the year 1858. Well done, Mr. Freeman. Your efforts to advance the interests of agriculture, and to stimulate the young to an increased attention to farming pursuits, are certainly commendable. In due process of time, give us the name of the successful boy, and we will take pleasure in publishing him.—*The Iowa Citizen*, (Des Moines), Jan. 12, 1858.

## THE DEFOE FAMILY IN IOWA.

BY ONA ELLIS SMITH.

The romantic story of the settlement in America of the Defoe family,<sup>1</sup> has been retold many times by the eastern press but the fact that direct descendants of the original immigrant, Elizabeth Maxwell, niece of Daniel Defoe, have been residents of Iowa for three score and ten years, will revive interest in the story, and may prove of historical value.

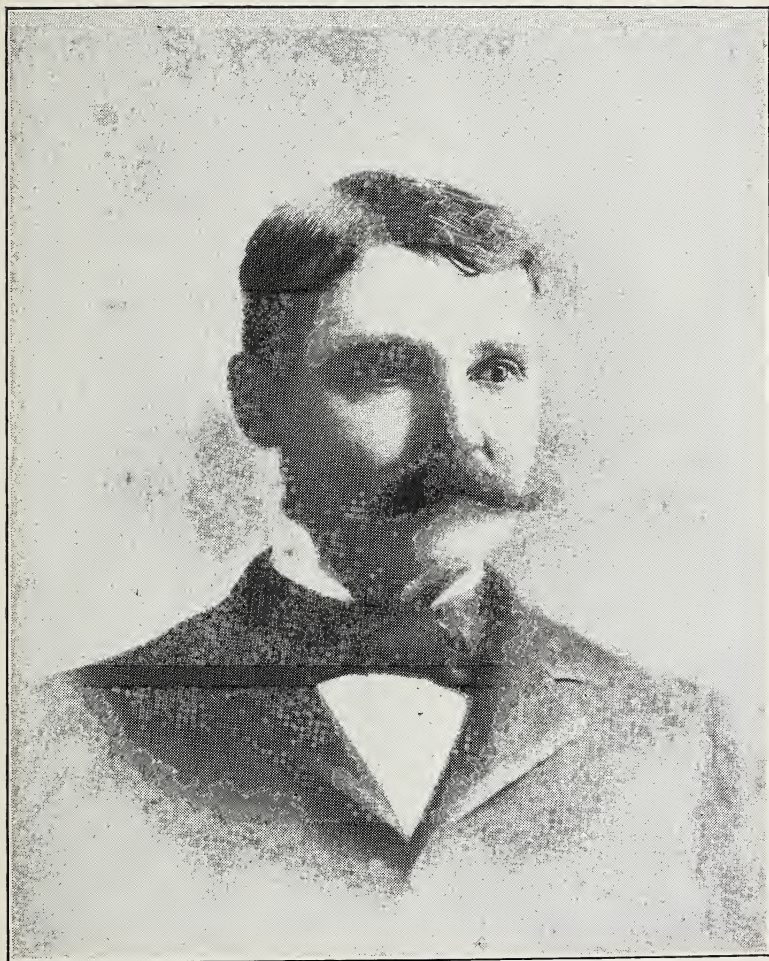
In the year 1705, Daniel Defoe, on account of his persistent writing upon the exciting subjects of that day, was compelled to seek a safe retreat under the roof of his widowed sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, in the city of London. His pamphlet, entitled "Shortest way with Dissentors," for which he suffered the punishment of the pillory, fine and imprisonment, was written three years before he took up his abode in his sister's home.

An interesting personal description of Daniel Defoe, some of the characteristics set forth being noticeable in his Iowa descendants, was given in a proclamation issued by Queen Anne's ministers shortly after the publication of that pamphlet:

"Whereas—Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet entitled, 'The Shortest way with Dissentors.' He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown colored hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's yard in Cornhill; and now is the owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex; whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of Her Majesty's justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward

---

<sup>1</sup>The Defoe Family in America, Scribner's Monthly, vol. xii, p. 61.



CAPT. ALBERT ELLIS





of £50, which Her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery.”

On his release he was again imprisoned for writing political pamphlets, but through the influence of Lord Oxford he was liberated and in the safe retreat of his sister's home he continued to send forth his barbed arrows.

A small room was fitted up to be used as a study by him, and it was in this seclusion, in the year 1719, that “Robinson Crusoe” was written.

His sister's only child, Elizabeth, was five years of age when her uncle came to live with them, and she received her education in his quiet study under his teaching. It was doubtless her active mind and interest in her studies that aroused his interest in the higher education of women which he especially advocated.

At the age of eighteen the daughter, Elizabeth, engaged herself to marry one to whom her mother was bitterly opposed, and the engagement was very unceremoniously broken off by her. This so angered Elizabeth that she left home secretly and embarked for America on a sailing vessel, bargaining with the captain to be sold on her arrival to reimburse him for her passage.

Upon arriving at Philadelphia she, with a number of other passengers, was offered for sale.

Andrew Job, an inn-keeper and wealthy Quaker citizen of Baltimore, chancing to be in the city, bought this runaway Quaker maiden and took her with him when he returned to the “Blue-ball Inn,” to aid his good wife in her many household duties.

Elizabeth Maxwell seems to have been satisfied in her new home, for six years later, in the year 1725, she became the wife of Andrew Job's son, Thomas.

Soon after her marriage she wrote to her mother and uncle, telling them of her new happiness and giving them the first knowledge of her location since her disappearance.

As soon as possible she received a reply from her uncle Daniel, stating that her mother was dead and that considerable property, in addition to her mother's household goods, was left

by will to her, in case she was found. An inventory of the goods was sent by him, and especially was she asked to cherish certain articles of furniture, because they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors. He also apologized for the condition of two chairs, the wicker seats of which had worn out and been replaced by wooden ones. These two chairs are still in a good state of preservation, one being now owned by a great-great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Maxwell Job,—Miss Hannah A. Griffith<sup>1</sup> of Calvert, Cecil county, Maryland—and the other by the State Historical Society of Delaware.<sup>2</sup>

In 1726 a son was born to Thomas and Elizabeth Job. Other children were born later to this couple but this eldest son, named Archibald, became the ancestor of the Iowa branch of the Defoe family. In the year 1752 on the 30th day of July, he married Margaret Reese.

During the Revolutionary War Archibald Job and his three grown sons gave much information and valued aid to Wash-

<sup>1</sup>The following letter from Hannah A. Griffith gives some interesting information relating to the Job family:

"Calvert, Third month, twelfth. (March, 1909.)

"To Ona Ellis Smith:

"Thine of the 8th received yesterday. Rather a surprise to me for a relative to greet me from that distance. Was not aware that my name and the fame of the old chair had traveled that far. I have had several photos of the chair but now have only one which I would not like to part with, but have just written to the artist to know if he has any copies on hand. If he has I will try to get one for thee. That old chair has been the subject for numerous newspaper items. Thee asks if I have any other relics of the Job family. Not any so old as the chair, but I have a very nice sound stand that belonged to my great-aunt, Hannah Job, which is greatly admired; and I have a marriage certificate of my great-grandfather and mother, dated on the 29th of 10th month, 1758. It is written on parchment and is well preserved, except that a mouse has cut it slightly.

"I should have said those great grandparents were Daniel Job, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Job, and Mary Brown, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Brown, of West Nottingham, then considered in the province of Pennsylvania.

"Thee probably has read Mary E. Ireland's article on The Defoe Family in America. It has been very widely published and is more correct than many things that are handed down by tradition. If thee has not read it, I think I can send it to thee. I have always had a strong desire to know more of the descendants of the Job family in the western states. In my mother's life I kept up a correspondence for her with two of the daughters of Archibald Job, who lived in Ohio, but of late I hear nothing of the family.

"The Job family is so nearly extinct in this locality that I have felt curious to know if the name was being increased in any other part of the country. Some of the name emigrated to Virginia a generation ago, and there may be many of the name in some section there. There are but two of the name here now, Haines Job and a very delicate son.

"I fear I am making my letter tiresome and will draw it to a close. Hope thee will excuse my writing as I am in the 80th year of my age, and my hand not very steady, and whilst not an invalid, I am a shut-in in the winter time.

"With kind regards, I will close.

HANNAH A. GRIFFITH.

"Nottingham, Chester Co. P."

<sup>2</sup>Year Book, Historical Society of Delaware, 1901, p. 17.

ington and Lafayette's armies as they passed through that part of the country. Archibald and his sons, Thomas and Morris, were also members of a scouting party—of which Archibald was captain—which became so active that they were disowned by the "Society of Friends"—of which they were birthright members—for "encouraging and participating in war-like measures."

Two daughters of Morris Job became the wives of brothers, sons of William Blair—a Revolutionary soldier who is buried at Kossuth, Iowa—Sarah Job wedding David E. Blair and Margaret Job becoming the wife of Thomas Blair. These great-granddaughters of Elizabeth Maxwell Job came to Iowa when it was yet a part of Michigan Territory and their husbands and sons took a prominent part in early day politics.

Thomas Blair, husband of Margaret Job, represented Des Moines county in the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature and also in the second session of that body which assembled at Burlington. He was also a member of the first Iowa Territorial Legislature. David E. Blair was a member of the Fifth Territorial Legislature, and of the First General Assembly of the State of Iowa.

Morris William Blair, son of Sarah Job and David E. Blair, is well known throughout the State. He is the most distinguished representative of the Defoe family now residing in Iowa. Coming here more than seventy years ago, he still resides upon the farm in Des Moines county, which his parents homesteaded in 1837. With means to gratify any reasonable desire, he prefers the simple life, living alone; for he has never married.

In a letter he says: "I am living in the house my father substituted for the claim cabin in 1840, have never been away from it. The wind blows through the boards—but I have four fires; the roof leaks—but I have a dry corner for my gun, another for my books and yet another for my range and cupboard.

"I have three good cousins whose horses and cows I pasture, who fill my basket twice a week with a pie, a loaf, and a jar of milk; the garden, the old hens and I do the rest."

In him are conspicuous the characteristics of the Defoe family from Daniel down to the relatives of the present day; remarkable longevity, a disposition to remain unmarried or to marry late in life, and the indomitable independence of spirit so prominent in the character of Daniel Defoe and his niece, Elizabeth.

In the year 1845, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Job and wife of Job Ellis, came west from Ohio with her husband and family of eleven children, the eldest son, Thomas, having preceded the family two years. They settled upon a farm one mile south of the present village of Cairo in Louisa county, and there reared their large family to honorable manhood and womanhood.

The two younger sons answered the call to arms in 1861, Harvey, the youngest of the eleven, dying from disease contracted in the service. Albert, the tenth child, entered as a private, serving as Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and Captain of Company C, Fifth Iowa Infantry, and as Captain of Company G, Fifth Iowa Cavalry, being honorably discharged for disability, November 9, 1864. He was in all the marches and battles of his command during his term of service.

After his return to civil life he took an active interest in local and state politics, representing Louisa county in the Twelfth General Assembly, was sheriff of Louisa county from 1876 to 1882 and in 1890 was appointed Revenue Agent by President Harrison—in recognition of his service to the Republican party.

He was an active figure in Iowa public life for thirty-five years, giving the best years of his life to the State.

In April, 1863, he came home from the front on furlough and married the daughter of one of Louisa county's pioneer citizens, Miss Alice Nichols. Of the seven children born to them only one now resides in the State, two dying in infancy and three daughters and a son residing in other states. Captain Ellis and his wife are now residents of Pueblo, Colorado.

Hannah Job Ellis, as well as her cousins, Sarah and Margaret Job Blair are buried in Iowa. Hannah rests in the Friends' burying ground at Pleasant Plain, Jefferson county, and Margaret and Sarah Blair sleep in the cemetery at Kossuth, Des Moines county.



# ANNALS OF IOWA.

---

## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

---

### SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

The above is the heading of an editorial for the *Annals of Iowa*, prepared by Charles Aldrich, its editor, and the founder of the Historical Department of Iowa. His thought was upon the then recent appropriation for the completion of the Historical Building, a contribution toward housing an institution devoted essentially to administration of the historical, memorial and art interests of the State.

### SUNDRY UNJUST BURTHENS.

It has been the fortune of the Historical Department of Iowa to carry certain burthens which should entitle us to a consideration we have never received. We refer to the appropriations made for the erection of the Historical Building. We have constantly, ever since the collections were transferred to the west wing of the new building, been held and considered to be asking, like Oliver Twist, for more. The moneys that have been appropriated for this prevented us from receiving our just share of money for the increase of our Museum, and for the purchase of books, and for other expenses, which we have been unable to meet from the limited amount that has been assigned to the Department. Were the writer to ask for additional funds, the economical senator or representative would say, "Just look at the thousands you are getting for the building!" We have taken occasion sometimes to tell them that while we are glad to see the appropriations for the construction of the edifice, the charging of them against this Department is a sort of starvation and checking of efforts which should be promptly put forth, not only to increase the Museum, but to increase the Department in other directions.

We have always regarded the Museum as the most important adjunct to this Department, aside perhaps from *The Annals*. The Museum needs or should have two or three thousand dollars a year, for the following reason: It is the most visited and most prized and the most valuable exhibit which has been placed before the masses of our people. The State University can make a much more attrac-

tive exhibit, but it is in a way a sort of exclusive affair, devoted largely to the interests of the students. This is all right, and we would not reduce the growth of the State Museum at Iowa City for any consideration. But the thousands of people who come to Des Moines should also be considered in the work of building up a Museum. It is unjust that the only resource for increasing the objects in the Museum is that of solicitation—begging, as Mr. Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society phrases it. All of the historical organizations in the middle west with which we are acquainted are constantly making additions to their collections in this direction. We are not informed whether this is done by solicitation wholly or mostly, but we presume that some money is invested in this direction. We cannot but regard it as unjust to the people living on the farms throughout our State, that our Museum is not constantly replenished with something fresh in the direction of objects of interest. The policy has seemed to be to charge the Historical Department with the appropriations for the completion of the building, and to withhold additions to our resources with which to purchase.

Explanation of the meagerness of funds for the purchase of materials and the performance of the work of the Department itself shows the attitude of legislators at that time. Considered from every view-point except that of the Curator, who bore the responsibility for practical results, it was correct. Mr. Aldrich's thought was only of the flying years with their opportunities, and of the passing of men and materials. Theoretically the State should have provided for herself, in a single act, an appropriate edifice, a complete staff of workers and an ample support fund. Practically, however, only part at that time was possible.

But the burthens with which Mr. Aldrich felt his work was saddled, namely, the carrying upon its account, so to speak, the expenditures for the building, are felt by his successors. Appropriations for the work have ever been attenuated in consequence of those for the building. With the meager funds, it was only the admixture of extraordinary zeal, ingenuity and the very life of the founder, and of a philanthropy on the part of individual sponsors of the work and of the Board of Trustees, that sustained it for many years. To collect and store materials was necessarily the highest purpose during the building operations. But it is equally important at the

present time to make accessible the materials accumulated and accumulating. What was wise or expedient throughout the years of building—the skimping and starving of the soul of the work that its body might be housed, is wisdom no longer. At the present time when demands for building are removed, a reasonable compensation to the administrative account may be expected so that practical results may be multiplied.

If, for instance, each allusion to the subject of the navigation of the rivers of Iowa which is known to exist among our collections, could be placed before an Iowa editor, a proper consideration by him of the subject might reasonably be expected as a matter of mere hours, whereas if the same person now desire to give the subject such consideration, he must first devote perhaps weeks to the discovery of his materials, and thereafter digest them.

Inquiry was recently received as to whether there was published at the proper time a notice of an ordinance authorizing the use of the public streets of the city of Ottumwa by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. The publication preceded the construction by months; it may be said years. The inquiry laid upon us not only the duty of having at hand a file of the newspapers reasonably expected to contain the record, but of making search therefor. The information when found, served a material purpose in the determination of substantial interests of one of our largest cities and one of our greatest corporations. Had our early newspapers been indexed, as we hope they will be in the near future, much time and expense might have been saved the applicant for this information. Under present conditions the best we could do was to furnish the bound volumes of newspapers, with office room in which to make the search.

Inquiry is from time to time made as to what is contained in the personal letters and documents in our keeping. Professor Dodd, in his preparation of studies on Jefferson Davis, travelled from Chicago to Des Moines, and searched for some days among the manuscripts of this Department. He read line by line in order to know whether our collections contained anything touching his subject. The identical material had

been searched within two years by different applicants and for different purposes.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the New York Post, in the preparation of his book on John Brown, caused an assistant to visit us, who remained some days examining our John Brown materials in a similar way. Like uses are sought of the museum objects illustrating past life in the State. To groups of valuable objects or documents, the busy public is entitled to as quick and complete access and use as is afforded in any business or record office.

Where a valuable object exists, but is not in our possession, it is our duty to the public to secure and preserve it. Procuring and making useful the materials illustrative of our history are possible only with funds, and these sufficient for the most diligent and effective effort seem now for the first time reasonably to be expected. There is prospect then of securing many additional materials relating to the development of Iowa; the thorough indexing of Department publications, of newspaper and document files now in or that may be added to the collection, at least up to and including the period of the Civil War, and the placing of such index ready to the hand of the busy searcher who may reasonably demand the maximum of results from the minimum expenditure of his time and money; the publication of some of the valuable original manuscripts now in the possession of the Department, making the material more readily available; the acquisition, preservation and display of such specimens as exemplify all animal or plant life within the State; the acquisition and proper treatment of source materials upon Iowa municipal and county as well as state history; the stimulation of and assistance toward enterprise for preserving and marking sites within the State having historic, scenic or scientific value; the circulation of information, material objects and other source materials into all localities within the State, and the further stimulation and assistance toward local historical studies; the entertainment by this institution of patrons, students and scholars, who augment our collections or enhance their value; the collection of art objects within the scope of our work and the stimula-



tion of interest in and the use of these. It is impossible to obtain these objects without adequate funds.

The sundry burthens, then, borne by the administrative element of the Historical Department of Iowa, ought now at the first opportunity to be removed. With our building in advance of that of nearly every other State, and our collections in some respects excelling all the rest, the other step toward success, namely, provision of modern and adequate administrative machinery must next be made. On the whole with a smaller biennial appropriation than heretofore, a work which has the approval of the general public and is deemed useful by the practical patron, can be made the indispensable instrument of benefit to all as the founder intended it to be. It should very soon result in instant and accurate response by the Historical Department to all appeals for historical and archive information concerning Iowa and the Middle West.

---

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS CLIENTS.

The appropriate relations of attorneys-at-law to their clients, to adverse parties, and to the public, is a subject that often perplexes moralists and philosophers. The many phases of the subject are illustrated most interestingly in the career of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer in Illinois.

Chroniclers relate that even when the technicalities of the law gave to flinty-hearted claimants or litigants a definite advantage he would now and then make tremendous appeals to the sensibilities of jurors and by sheer eloquence sweep them away from their moorings of contract and secure the equity that humanity demands for the orphan or widow or a friend caught unwittingly in the nets of adverse circumstances. His biographers tell us of his frequent refusal to accept a retainer from any one of high or low estate whose case was bottomed on fraud or smacked of trickery. Tradition deals with various instances when he summarily dropped causes in the midst of trial on discovering that he had been grossly misinformed as to essential facts or had been hoodwinked by his client respecting any questionable transaction.

There recently came to the Historical Department for examination an original letter of Mr. Lincoln's,—never before made public, we believe—that strikingly illustrated another phase of his character and conduct as a lawyer. In the forepart of "the fifties" Mr. Lincoln received from Mr. L. M. Hays, one of the pioneers of Sangamon county, Illinois, a promissory note for collection. On proceeding with the matter he found the debtor to be poor and a cripple.

Moreover, the debtor refused to pay the note on the ground that the original drawee (or a prior holder) on his death bed had ordered the note delivered to him or destroyed. Mr. Lincoln apparently did not proceed with the collection rapidly, for his client on September 30, 1852, wrote inquiring as to the progress made and the prospects for returns. Mr. Lincoln's response—a brief note which appears in facsimile on opposite page—is interesting for it displays an attitude not usually accredited to lawyers in pursuit of clients and fees.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lincoln notified Mr. Hays that he had deliberately neglected to enforce his rights in the premises when he could have secured judgment. Pity for the debtor in distress caused him to agree to a postponement of the hearing.

The debtor's statement that a prior holder or the original creditor had waived or cancelled the obligation was almost a violent assumption when the note was in the hands of third parties and presumably innocent purchasers. Conceding the possibility that the debtor's contention was bona fide, it rested on a parol agreement, the evidence or proof of which, death had destroyed so that third parties could not thereby suffer prejudice.

The incident affords an excellent illustration of the perplexities that ever and anon confront and disturb the practicing lawyer. When an amount in controversy is not large,

---

<sup>1</sup>  
L. M. HAYS, ESQ.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Yours of Sept. 30th just received. At our court, just past, I could have got a judgment against Turley, if I had pressed to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him—*poor* and a *cripple* as he is—He begged time to try to find evidence to prove that the deceased on his death bed, ordered the note to be given up to him or destroyed—I do not suppose he will get any such evidence, but I allowed him until next court to try—

Yours &c

A. LINCOLN.

Springfield, Oct. 27, 1852  
L. W. Heay, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Yours of Sept 30<sup>th</sup> just  
received - At our court, just past, I could have  
got a judgment against Tarby, if I had pressed  
to the utmost; but I am really sorry for him -  
poor and a cripple as he is - He begged time to  
try to find evidence to prove that the deceased was  
his death-bed, ordered the note to be given up to  
him or destroyed - I do not suppose he will  
get any such promise, but I advise him  
that he must come to try - Yours H  
A. Lincoln.

The Historical Department of Iowa is indebted to Mrs. E. C. McMillan, of Keokuk, for the loan of the original letter, of which the above is a facsimile.





sympathy is wont to play a large part in its consideration, at least in the attitude of the public toward the matter. When large sums or vast interests are at stake, hard sense and stern logic are rigorously insisted upon, and few gainsay the justice of thus proceeding, although sympathy for the one adversely dealt with may be felt. Mr. Lincoln would appear to have been chargeable with non-feasance—with disregard and neglect of his client's interest because of tenderness of heart; whereas relief was not for him to grant, but was the prerogative or the privilege of his client. The conclusion of the case is not known.

F. I. H.

---

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Thomas Cox, by Harvey Reid: pp XVI, 257. The State Historical Society of Iowa; Iowa City, Iowa, 1909.*

The career of Thomas Cox of Jackson county represents the careers of a large proportion of the pioneers of Iowa—not necessarily of the average pioneer but certainly of a considerable number of the first settlers. He was a pathfinder and pathmaker. As a lawmaker and as a surveyor he marked the lines and set the stakes of law and order. He was a big, bluff, buoyant, hale-fellow-well-met; convivial, forceful, reckless, unsystematic, non-persistent, except under the whip and spur of keen public excitement and crowding events. The records of his life are meager and the exhibits of his work not large. Nevertheless he was a factor of decisive influence in the affairs of our territory, and Mr. Reid has given us an interesting and instructive narrative of Colonel Cox's career. This volume is an expansion of Mr. Reid's article in *The Annals of Iowa* (3d series, Vol. VII: 241-269.)

The span and spaces of Cox's life comprehended three states, Kentucky, Illinois and Iowa. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and again in the Black Hawk War. In the latter he might have achieved official elevation and distinction, but consciousness of his weaknesses made him shrink from responsibility. He served in various capacities—as Justice of the Peace, as Register of the Land Office, as Deputy United States Surveyor. He was a land speculator and town-site manipulator. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois and also of the Territorial Legislature of Iowa, becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives (1840) and President of the Council (1844). He was one of the founders of Spring-

field, Illinois, and possibly not ineffective in determining the location of the capital at that point, and he was one of the decisive factors in locating the second capital city of Iowa.

To the majority of his readers the most interesting and valuable portion of Mr. Reid's work is his account of the dispersal of the thieves and outlaws of Bellevue, with whose summary cessation Colonel Cox had not a little to do. In three substantial chapters he tells of the beginnings, progress and culmination of the difficulties between Brown and his pals and Cox and his friends. The situation was dramatic and is here vividly portrayed. In post-prandial discourses and dedicatory addresses and in eulogies one frequently encounters assertions to the effect that lawlessness—crime and lynchings—was conspicuous by its absence in the formative period of Iowa. This account of the "Bellevue War" should effectually abolish such sentimental notions.

Mr. Reid did not have much from which to construct his narrative, but by industrious research and discrimination he has brought together numerous collateral facts which enable him to make a good background whereby the dim outlines of Cox's career and character become definite and indicate substance. Lucidity, force and straightforwardness are noticeable traits of the author's style. In dealing with Cox's faults he exhibits both deftness and delicacy, suggesting them, but refraining from details.

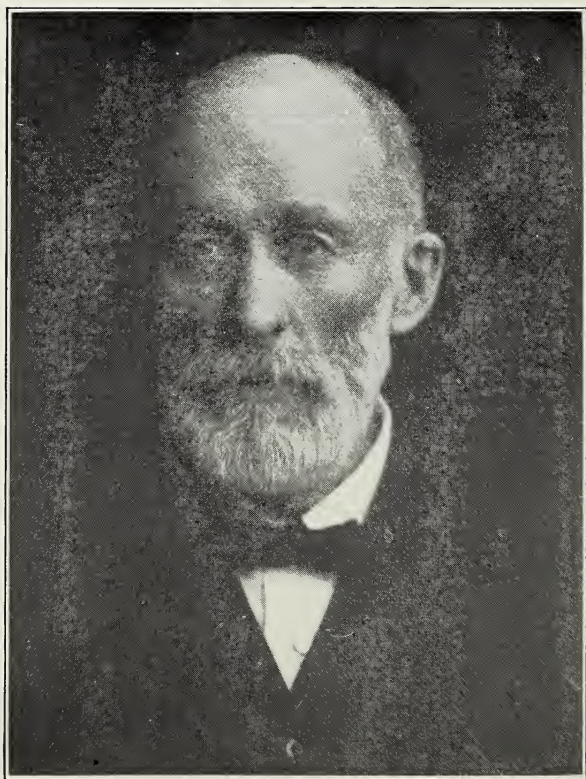
F. I. H.

---

*How We Built the Union Pacific Railway, and Other Railway Papers and Addresses. By Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railway. Privately Printed.*

As the title indicates, this volume relates mainly to early western railway engineers and engineering. These papers are all in the terse, forceful style of Gen. Dodge, upon engineering and promotion problems and feats, to which the author successfully applied his own great powers. They form an easy and authoritative path through the mazes of published materials on these topics to the sources upon financing and constructing the Union Pacific Railway, and of the considerations and influences determining legislation and other public acts bearing upon this first transcontinental railway. Congress has authorized their publication as a public document. The book is copiously illustrated with photographs and drawings in half-tone.





DR. ELBERT W. CLARK



## NOTABLE DEATHS.

DR. ELBERT WARREN CLARK was born in Vermont, February 11, 1842, and was of Scotch-American parentage. He came to Illinois when twelve years old, and acquired his general education in the country district school and in the high school at Kewanee. He graduated from Rush Medical College in February, 1871, and located in Grinnell, where he practiced medicine constantly until he died on February 16, 1910. He is survived by a worthy and faithful companion, also by E. W. Clark, Jr., a merchant in Grinnell. Dr. Clark was not only an excellent physician and surgeon, but a broad-minded philanthropist, an active and generous citizen, a statesman, a Christian gentleman. He was elected five times as a member of the city council of Grinnell. For six years he was president of the school board. He had been a trustee of Grinnell College since 1898, rendering faithful service as a member of the executive committee. He served as a trustee of the Stewart Public Library of the town and was mayor of Grinnell for four years, during which time great improvements in the way of sewers and water works were installed. At the meeting of the State Medical Society in Cedar Rapids in 1907 Dr. Clark presided. He was a lifelong Republican, casting his first ballot for Abraham Lincoln, whom he went a long way to hear deliver a campaign speech; he voted for every Republican candidate for president since that time. His party called him to serve first as a Representative from Poweshiek county in the Thirty-first General Assembly, then elected him in 1906 to the state Senate from the twelfth district. As a lawmaker, in his quiet way, he exhibited marked wisdom and diplomacy. He rarely missed a session during the three meetings of the General Assembly which he attended, although professional duties required him to spend all of his Sundays and many mid-week nights at home. Although from time to time this good man had various troublesome ailments, and twice at least in later years sustained serious injuries to his chest, so that he often suffered severely and dangerously with tachycardia, no man used time and opportunity to better advantage than did Dr. Clark. In Germany they have a custom of honoring their scientific men. Throughout the land one may see the statues of medical men alongside of great heroes and military leaders, adorning public places. The life of Dr. Clark was a complete success. The town of Grinnell can do nothing to give character and finish to its park, which lies opposite the home of its founder, and which has been crossed thousands of times by the subject of this sketch, better than to place in it statues of J. B. Grinnell and of E. W. Clark. (GERSHOM H. HILL, M. D., in Iowa Medical Journal, March 15, 1910.)

---

HENRY HOFFMAN TRIMBLE was born in Rush county, Indiana, May 7, 1827; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, January 9, 1910. He attended school at Woodsfield, Ohio; Franklin, Indiana; Indiana State University, and at Asbury, now De Pauw University, from which he graduated in 1847. He was a volunteer in the Fifth

Indiana regiment of infantry, and served one year in the war with Mexico. After returning to Indiana he taught school in Shelbyville and studied law in the office of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks. He removed to Bloomfield, Iowa, and there was admitted to the bar in 1850. The same year, and also in 1852, he was elected county attorney of Davis county. He was a Democrat of the old school, was nominated and elected state senator in 1856. In 1861 he took a leading part in the organization of the Third Iowa Cavalry of which he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. In a desperate charge at Pea Ridge, March 7, 1862, he received a wound in the face, the effects of which obliged him to resign his command. He was elected to the district bench after his return and recovery, serving four years. He was an unsuccessful candidate of the Democratic party for judge of the Supreme Court in 1865, as he was for Congress against Samuel R. Curtis in 1858, and against William Loughridge in 1872. He was a delegate at large to the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis in 1876, when Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were nominated for President and Vice-President. He was a delegate at the convention of 1880 which nominated Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, and in 1884 was a delegate at large to the convention which nominated Grover Cleveland. He was unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Iowa in 1879. He promoted the construction of the railroad which is now the Wabash line from Bloomfield to Ottumwa, and in 1878 became attorney for the Burlington road, serving with peculiar ability for the remainder of his very active life. In 1881 he was made general attorney for the road, and the next year removed to Keokuk, where his residence thereafter remained. He was a famous trial lawyer. Among his achievements are judgments in some of the most famous criminal battles in the history of southeastern Iowa. He was successful in his connection with the noted Andrew J. Davis will case in the courts of Butte, Montana. He was a large land-owner, was the president of a number of banking institutions and the promoter of fine stock breeding. He was of spare build, tall, and in his later years apparently frail. In conserving his health, he resolved his habits into an almost mechanical system of outdoor exercise, and thus he considered that he preserved and prolonged both his physical and mental powers much beyond the period when both might have been expected to have broken. He delighted in the open fields and was a champion with dog and gun. He was a member of the Beta Theta Pi in his college days, and of the Masonic Order.

---

WILLIAM F. BRANNAN was born in Washington, D. C., September 24, 1824; he died at Muscatine, Iowa, February 12, 1910. His parents were John and Mary (McLeod) Brannan, natives of Ireland. He received his early education at McLeod's Academy, continuing there after entering the office of the *Globe* as an apprentice at the age of sixteen. In 1843 he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, near which place he taught in the public schools and later as a tutor in private families. Here he began the study of law, and in 1846 was admitted to the bar. He became a partner in the *Hagerstown Mail*, editing that paper until his appointment as auditor of the court of chancery in 1853. He removed to Muscatine, Iowa, in 1855, and

entered the practice of the law. In 1858 he was nominated by the Democrats and elected the first county superintendent of schools. He served one term and declined renomination. He was appointed a trustee of the University of Iowa about this time and was one of the earliest and most effective advocates of co-education. In 1868 he was a delegate, and in 1884 a delegate and vice-president, of the Democratic National Convention. He was nominated by his party for Congress in the early seventies, and was barely defeated in his district which was strongly Republican. Upon the unanimous recommendation of the bar of Muscatine, in 1872, Governor Carpenter, a Republican, appointed Judge Brannan, a Democrat, to fill a vacancy on the district bench. At the end of his first term, on his refusal to become a partisan candidate, both parties placed his name on their tickets. He was elected, and the wholesome precedent of elevating the bench above partisanship has since been followed in the seventh judicial district. Judge Brannan resigned and re-entered the practice before the expiration of his term, continuing until 1886 when he was returned to the bench. He was nominated in 1869 and again in 1884 for supreme judge, but both times failed to overcome the great Republican majorities. On the district bench he continued to serve uninterruptedly without opposition until January 1, 1903. He then announced his unwillingness to serve longer because of failing health, whereupon the bar of his district, in a meeting at Davenport by resolution unanimously commended his career as having been at all times conscientious, painstaking, honest, fearless, broad-minded and impartial. Judge Brannan possessed an almost marvellous memory and the faculty of lucid expression of opinion. He never abandoned his interest in newspaper work, volunteered much editorial and news matter to the local press, and contributed a series of articles to Chicago papers upon his memory of events at Washington in the time of Andrew Jackson, of which as a lad, he was a witness.

---

MARTIN NELSON JOHNSON was born in Racine county, Wis., March 3, 1850; he died at Fargo, N. D., October 21, 1909. When yet in his infancy, he was taken by his father to the family's new home in Winneshiek county, Iowa. In due time young Johnson entered the State University, graduating in 1873. He was for a short time after his graduation instructor in the California Military Academy at Oakland. Returning to Iowa he was admitted to the bar in 1876. He had just been chosen a member of the House of Representatives from his home county. In that body he was made chairman of the committee on the state library. In 1877 he was elected a member of the state Senate, being in that body when the prohibitory amendment to the constitution was adopted for submission to the next General Assembly, and supported that measure. In 1880 he was chairman of the same committee in the Senate. While a senator he secured the adoption of statutory provision under which persons applying for opportunity to teach special subjects are allowed to take examination for such specialty without being required to take a general examination. In 1876 Mr. Johnson was an elector for president and vice-president, casting his vote for Hayes and Wheeler. In 1884 he removed to the territory of Dakota, and there entered the land which was his home to the last. He was

prosecuting attorney for a couple of years, and was president of the body that drafted the constitution for the State of North Dakota. In this convention he resolutely contended for a bicameral legislature, making a strong fight for a legislature with only one house, citing as precedent many other states and countries, including that of his ancestors, Norway. The convention, however, adopted the plan of a legislature with two bodies. When the first Legislature met Mr. Johnson was nominated by the Republican caucus for U. S. Senator, but a combination of disaffected Republicans with the majority party defeated him in the joint convention of the General Assembly. He was chairman of the first Republican convention of the State. In 1890 he was elected to Congress, representing the entire State. He was re-elected four times, serving as a member of the committee on ways and means, and as such participating in framing the tariff law of 1897. He voluntarily retired from Congress in 1889 to become a candidate for United States Senator. Defeated in his candidacy he returned to farming and grain dealing. In 1908 he was again a candidate for United States Senator, and in 1909 was elected by the Legislature a member of that body, taking his seat March 4, 1909.

W. H. F.

---

LEONARD WOODS PARISH was born in Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1850; he died March 21, 1910, at Marshalltown, from injuries received the same day in a railroad wreck near Green Mountain, Iowa. He was educated in the public schools of New Haven, Conn., and Springfield, Mass., and graduated from Yale in 1872. He began his career as a teacher in the high school of Bradford, Conn., going thence to Glastonbury Academy for two years. He removed to Rock Island, Ill., in 1877, and to Des Moines in 1879, where he served as superintendent of the West Des Moines schools for six years. He served as superintendent of schools at Independence, Iowa, until 1890, when he joined the faculty of the Iowa State Teachers College, then entitled the Iowa State Normal School, at Cedar Falls, Iowa. Here he resided for the rest of his life. He was for five years professor of psychology and didactics. In 1895 he was transferred to the department of political science, and recently was made the head of that department. Throughout his residence in Iowa he was a factor and leading member of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, serving as chairman of the executive committee a portion of the time. He was a curator of the Iowa State Historical Society. He was the author of "Institute Economics" and "Civil Government in Iowa," and a number of other important educational works. His son, Professor John Parish, is assistant editor of the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, and has recently been attached to the faculty of Beloit College.

---

P. GAD BRYAN was born of Irish parents near West Carlisle, Coshocton county, Ohio, December 11, 1825; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, March 22, 1910. He moved with his parents from Ohio to Georgetown, Illinois, in 1839, and there lived and worked upon a farm. In 1846 he began the study of medicine and graduated from Wabash Medical College in 1848. In the same year he began the



practice of his profession at Darwin, Ill. In December, 1850, he moved to Indianola, Iowa, where he continued the practice of medicine, meantime studying law. He was admitted to the bar in 1852, when he immediately gave up the practice of medicine and began at once the practice of the law, which he continued until January 1, 1900. Although a life-long Democrat, he was in 1850 elected from Warren county, Iowa, to the Legislature of the State and again re-elected to the same position in 1854. In October, 1875, he removed from Indianola to Des Moines, Iowa, and there continued the practice of the law, and for two terms was elected and served as city solicitor of Des Moines. As a lawyer he possessed many qualities of success. He had a keen sense of humor and justice, and maintained unfalteringly, the highest standard of professional integrity, always commanding the confidence and respect of all whom he encountered. He was an easy and pleasant speaker, with an active and well trained mind, both witty and analytical and withal possessed a pleasing and charming personality. Before removing to Des Moines Colonel Bryan was, in a district largely Republican, twice elected district attorney for the judicial district in Iowa, at that time comprising the counties of Warren, Madison, Polk, Adair, Cass, Dallas, Guthrie, Audubon and Greene. This position he resigned in 1861 to enlist in the Civil War. He was elected captain of Company A of the First Iowa Cavalry and was with his regiment in the battles of Milford, Prairie Grove, McGuire's Ford, Van Buren, Ark., and in various engagements in western guerrilla warfare. He was promoted to major of his regiment in 1862, and lieutenant colonel in 1863. He left his regiment in 1863 to become chief of scouts for Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, in which capacity he served to the close of the war. He was prominent in the organization of what was known in Iowa as the "Blue Ribbon Club" and was the first president of that organization. He was also a member of the Octogenarian and the Polk County Old Settlers' Association.

---

G. W. S.

ADDISON A. STUART was born in the State of Massachusetts, in 1832; he died in Chicago, March 10, 1910. He came to Iowa in childhood. In 1862, he became a member of Company D, 17th Iowa Volunteers, of which he was made first lieutenant. After some months of service he was promoted to the captaincy. Wounded at both Champion Hills and Missionary Ridge, he resigned in February, 1864. On returning to Iowa, he wrote and had published a work entitled, "Iowa Colonels and Regiments." In this book he gave more or less elaborate sketches of ninety-four of the commanding officers of those regiments. His descriptions of battle-scenes are exceptionally vivid.

---

W. H. F.

HENRY EVARTS GORDON was born at Auburndale, Mass., September 28, 1855; he died at Iowa City, Iowa, September 18, 1909. He was educated at the Newton high school near Boston, and at Amherst, where he took his degree in 1879. From 1880 to 1896 he was principal of Tillotson Academy, Trinidad, Col., going thence to Colorado College to fill the chair of rhetoric and oratory. He remained there until 1900, when he was elected to the chair of public speaking in the University of Iowa. He was a member of the American Association of Speech Arts, of the Alpha Delta Phi and of Phi Beta Kappa.

EDWIN C. McMILLAN was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, June 8, 1839; he died at Keokuk, Iowa, December 9, 1909. He removed to Indiana where he enlisted in the Sixth Indiana Cavalry, gallantly serving for three years, and when discharged was captain of Company F. At the close of the war, Capt. McMillan engaged in the practice of dentistry at Bowling Green, Indiana, from which place he removed to Albion, Marshall county, Iowa. He served as sheriff of Marshall county for a number of years. In 1878 he was appointed warden of the penitentiary at Ft. Madison, serving in that capacity for six years, and again, after an interval for four years. He was a resident of Marshall county the greater part of his life, but for four years had made his home in Keokuk.

---

DANIEL JOHN PATTON was born in Fayette county, Pa., January 27, 1836; he died near Hampton, Iowa, March 14, 1910. He removed to Franklin county, Iowa, in 1869, locating in what is now Ingham township. Ten years later he purchased a farm in Mott township, and there resided for the greater part of the remainder of his life. He was a leading farmer and stock raiser in his county, a strong force in the moulding of opinion and the up-building of his community in every way. In 1900 he was elected to the lower house of the 28th General Assembly, serving again in the 29th.

---

EDWARD ENTWISTLE was born March 15, 1815, at Tillsleys Banks, Lancashire, England; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, October 31, 1909. He was apprenticed to the Duke of Bridgewater who had large machine shops at Manchester. It was in these shops that the inventor, Stephenson, built his first locomotive, and a portion of the work on it was done by Mr. Entwistle. When Stephenson took the locomotive for its trial trip, he had Mr. Entwistle attend him as fireman. The "Rocket" drew the first train between Manchester and Liverpool, and for two years Mr. Entwistle as engineer, made two round trips daily. He was transferred on his own request to a coasting steamer owned by the Duke of Bridgewater, and as its engineer remained in that service until he was twenty-two years of age, when he migrated to America. He ran steamboats on the Hudson river, and on the Great Lakes until 1856, when he came to Des Moines, where his home remained the rest of his life. He made a few trips from Des Moines to Keokuk and return during the navigation of the Des Moines river, but for the most part was engaged as a stationary engineer throughout his active years.

---

CHARLES M. HARL was born in Sandusky, Ohio, November 13, 1856; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 1, 1910. John W. Harl, the father of Charles M., removed with his family to Council Bluffs in 1858. The father died three years later and an only brother, Ed, was killed in battle at Helena, Ark. Charles was educated in the Council Bluffs public schools, graduating from the high school in 1874. Entering the office of Caleb Baldwin as a law student, he completed his studies and was admitted to the bar in 1876. He became a member of the firm of Smith and Carson, continuing until 1886

when George Carson was elected to the district bench and the firm became Smith and Harl. Two years later Spencer Smith was elected a member of the state railroad commission and retired from the firm. Shortly thereafter the firm became Burke, Harl and Tinley, with the late Finley Burke and Emmet Tinley as associates with Mr. Harl. At the time of his death Mr. Harl was the senior member of the firm of Harl and Tinley. Mr. Harl served from 1882 to 1887 as secretary of the board of education of Council Bluffs. He was a candidate for Congress before the Republican convention of the 9th Iowa district which named Judge J. R. Reed. He served as first vice-president of the league of Republican clubs of Iowa in the presidential campaign of 1888. He was an active and influential member of the Iowa State Bar Association, and its president in 1909. He was one of the trustees of the Broadway Methodist Church of Council Bluffs.

---

WILLIAM INSCO BUCHANAN was born in Covington, Ohio, September 10, 1853; he died in London, England, October 17, 1909. He was educated in the common schools of his native State and was engrossing clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives in 1874-75. He removed to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1882, and was an organizer and manager of the Corn Palace Exposition at that place; a member of the Iowa Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition; was appointed chief of the Department of Agriculture in 1890 and of the live stock and forestry department of the World's Fair in 1891. He was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Argentine Republic from 1894-1900. He also served as arbitrator on the special commission to fix the boundary between the Chilean and Argentine governments. As such he established the line between latitudes 23° and 26°, 52' 45" north. He was United States delegate to the second Pan-American conference in Mexico in 1902, and was at the head of the United States delegation at the third conference. He was the first United States minister to the republic of Panama. He served as high commissioner on the part of the United States to settle disputes between the United States and Venezuela, and at the time of his death was serving as an agent of the United States for the future arbitration at The Hague of one of the pending Venezuelan questions. Mr. Buchanan was a Democrat and received his appointment as minister to the Argentine Republic from President Cleveland, but maintained his position and won promotions through succeeding Republican administrations. His residence at the time of his death was Buffalo, N. Y.

---

GEORGE WILLARD PERKINS was born in Derry, N. H., October 23, 1832; he died at Shenandoah, Iowa, May 1, 1910. He attended the common schools of his native State, removing in 1855 to Weathersfield, Ill., and in 1871 to Fremont county, Iowa, where he acquired land and established his home. He was elected to the state senate in 1890, rendering distinguished service during a four-year term. He was a member of the committees on ways and means and on agriculture. He was appointed railroad commissioner in 1892, and after three years was elected to the same position. During his active service he suffered a stroke of apoplexy from which he never recovered.

HENRY M. BELVEL was born in Guernsey county, Ohio, June 15, 1842; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 29, 1910. He attended the common schools of Ohio, removing to Wayne county, Iowa, in 1852. He enlisted August 15, 1862, in Co. F, 34th Iowa Infantry, serving as corporal. He was honorably discharged April 10, 1863. He participated in the siege of Vicksburg, and other engagements in which his regiment took part. In 1868 he entered the newspaper field in Wayne and Decatur counties. He was for a time editor of the *Democrat-Chronicle* of Des Moines, and from November, 1907, to May, 1909, was editor and publisher of the *Grand Army Advocate*. He was secretary of the Iowa State commission created for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the feasibility of voting machines. He was past commander of Kinsman Post, G. A. R., and during his career held many places in the Iowa Department G. A. R.

---

JOHN H. LOOBY was born in Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, Nov. 25, 1835; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 24, 1909. When twelve years old his father died and he went to live with relatives in Canandaigut, N. Y., where he worked on a farm during the summer, and attended school in the winter. He apprenticed himself for three years to learn the trade of house painting, later going to Rochester to perfect himself in this line of work. In 1856, he removed to Des Moines, Iowa, and began work at his trade. At the first call for volunteers in 1861, he sold out his business and enlisted April 1st, as a private in Company D, Second Iowa Infantry. He was severely wounded at Shiloh, and obliged to leave the service for some weeks. After partial recovery from his wounds, he was commissioned second lieutenant of Company D, 18th Infantry. On account of impaired health he was detailed to detached service, and made acting adjutant of the regiment Sept. 1, 1862, serving until the close of 1863, when he was recommended for promotion to captain. This he declined, having decided to join a colored regiment. He was mustered out of the 18th and commissioned first lieutenant of the 62d U. S. Infantry, and June 3, 1864, was promoted to captain. He was mustered out with his regiment March 31, 1866, at Brownsville, Texas. On May 10th, Congress promoted him to brevet major, as a reward for gallantry, bravery, faithful service and actual worth. After the war he returned to Des Moines and resumed his work as a painter, continuing in this occupation until June 20, 1870. On the death of Adjutant General Baker, Oct. 1, 1876, Mr. Looby was appointed his successor, serving until June 27, 1878. On account of ill health the last years of his life were spent in retirement.







# DR. SALTER MEMORIAL

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. IX, NO. 8.

JANUARY, 1911.

## ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



PUBLISHED BY THE

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.

EDGAR R. HARLAN, Curator.

---

PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR. SINGLE NUMBER 25 CENTS.

---

DES MOINES, IOWA.

## ANNALS OF IOWA

### CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1911

	Page
Dr. William Salter	561-644

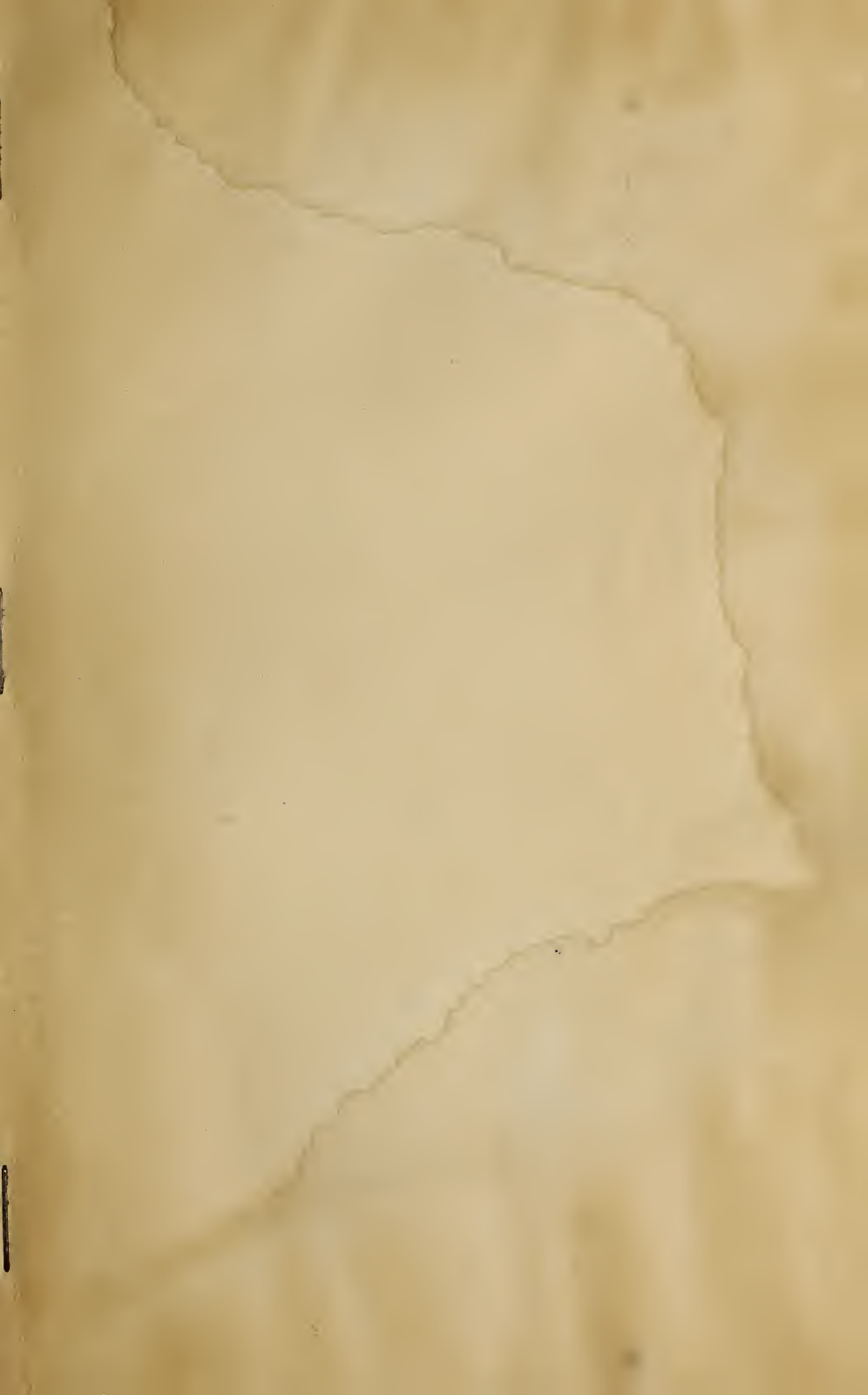
REV. JAMES L. HILL, D. D.

	Page
Dr. William Salter	561
"Come Over and Help Us"	574
Dr. Salter's Autobiography	604
His Other Self	619
Two of Dr. Salter's Sunday School Scholars	625
The Renowned Big Stick	627
Tributes on Various Occasions	629
Ceremonies at the Unveiling of Dr. Salter's Portrait	635
At the End	638

### *Illustrations*

Dr. William Salter, Frontispiece (Steel Engraving)	
Mary A. Mackintire and William Salter, 1845	577
Home of William Salter, Burlington, Iowa, 1873	609
Mary A. Salter	619







Eng. S. L. Butter Co. N.Y.

William Salter

REV. WM SALTER DD.

**Dr. William Salter**  
**In Memoriam**





# ANNALS OF IOWA.

---

VOL. IX, No. 8.      DES MOINES, JANUARY, 1911.

---

3D SERIES

DR. WILLIAM SALTER.

BY REV. JAMES L. HILL, D. D., SALEM, MASS.

In every sphere there is one, outranking all others of its class; one Napoleon, one Shakespeare, one law of gravitation, one Washington, one Grant, one Iowa Band, and, as Oliver Wendell Holmes would say, one Last Leaf. I have looked with reverence upon the solitary venerable man whose life Heaven so graciously lengthened out as to leave him the last of the pioneers and founders of Congregationalism in Iowa. Abounding sympathy and imagination are required to place a reader in the environment and among the events of his early life. When he was born, Adams, Jefferson, and other fathers of the Republic had years to live. Lafayette was nowhere near his end. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun had struggles yet to make. Napoleon lived a part of the year in which Dr. Salter was born.

In the career and works of the venerable pastor of Burlington, we have an open book on early Iowa. His life is a long chapter in the genesis of the State. No attempt is made to disassociate him from his part in laying the foundation of a Puritan Commonwealth on the sunset side of the Mississippi, nor from his strong alliance with his associates whose joint work is not matched by anything in the entire annals of the universal church. No one can present Washington apart from his army and the struggle for independence. The effect of any man's life work, his individual success, his influence and power, depend more upon that with which he identifies himself than upon any other single condition whatsoever. Call it greatness, call it fortune, call it providence, the fact remains that Dr. Salter first made his alliances and they together helped make the State, whose history cannot now be written without placing his name on her page of honor.

By the necessities of the case Dr. Salter must be viewed in his representative character. In an encomium given him in October, 1910, at the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, the highest deliberative body in that denomination, he was eulogized as a devoted minister and leader, "the last of the noble Iowa Band." With the earliest dawn of memory, such sentiment and regard for him and his associates were inculcated in me as a child. They seemed in a class by themselves, of peculiar lineage, different, almost like beings from another world. They would scarcely have been more remarkable to my youthful imagination if a circle of light had been about their heads. That aureole they have never outlived. If prophets from heaven had appeared in my boyhood they would not have been looked over more carefully. More than is true of most mortals, "people have not waited until after their death to anoint them with appreciation." "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore." I catch that solemn song. I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph. "Their name liveth evermore." In their main purpose, and in the fruition of their lives, they came close to the ideal. In our wide land, who has surpassed them? What a bundle of history their career binds up!

Dr. Salter's life arches over everything that lies between the rudest beginnings in a territory where still were seen the plain footprints of the savage, and a peerless State having over 2,000,000 people within her borders, with 13,000 school houses valued at \$25,000,000, over 4,000 houses of worship, more than 9,000 miles of railway, and more banks than any other State in the Union. It is not uncommon to see in flaring headlines in papers this caption, "Lost on errors." This means wild pitching, misjudged objects, attempts made foolishly, brilliant games marred by one glaring mistake. But in Dr. William Salter's life there was no false step nor sounding of the wrong note. "In all of my thirty years' residence here," said Mr. LaMonte Cowles, "I have never heard one disparaging word spoken of Dr. Salter. All united in calling him a model Christian gentleman. He was one of the very few men in public life of whom there was but one opinion. He was not only a

very able man but he was a good man." "There never was a citizen," said Judge J. C. Power, "who left his impression so indelibly stamped on Burlington as Dr. Salter." Mr. C. C. Clark affirms, "Dr. Salter came close to the ideal in his test of real, genuine manhood, and his sunny, unspoiled, and optimistic life will always be an inspiration." "During his long life in this community," testifies the Burlington Gazette, "he became its most beloved and revered member. There was none so beyond the pale of decency as to lift up his voice against the Congregational minister."

Such a life is its own eulogy. It uplifts us to hold such a veneration. We feel its ennobling power. It is to many a new view of the clergy. We know what pictures we look up to in the stained glass windows of the churches. In Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, N. Y., where once in the days of his sore trial, Henry Ward Beecher preached in the morning and Dr. Salter in the evening, there is a window setting forth the life and work of the Iowa Band, the overflow of New England, the founding of the Christian college. What a radiance envelops the scene! What a nimbus of light crowns every head! These men carried the traditions and ideals of the Pilgrims to a wilderness where they erected a superlative State. We feel that as Washington was ordained for his work and as God had prepared Lincoln for the critical place he filled in a crisis, so Salter was prepared for great length of days and for his pastorate of sixty-four years by his itinerant work. In that work he received the baptism of the Home Missionary spirit. Here in my library is an entire alcove filled with printed references to the phenomenal work of the Iowa Band, of which Dr. Salter was the youngest member. Grace P. Davis devotes to them a striking chapter in her Congregational Hero Tales. "As an incentive to missionary zeal" the pastor of the church at Nashua, Iowa, publishes an address on the Iowa Band, delivered by a daughter of one of its members before the Ladies' Missionary Society of that church. We have assembled here uncounted reports of missionary addresses where its labors are recited for inspirational effect. It is probable that individual secretaries and other Christian work-

ers can be named that have each referred in public to its work at least a hundred times. More than half of those who composed the membership of this notable band have left to me their accumulations, made through two generations, of historical references to their fruitful and suggestive mission, and I believe it is demonstrated that in giving just the right initiative, at just the right time, in just the right place, the work of Dr. Salter and his associates is without an equal in its outcome in the Protestant history of mankind. I believe that a careful study of Home Missionary undertakings in the entire annals of the church justifies this assertion. It is a crowning achievement. In my mail today is an extended report from the "Montana Band." And what is their model by their own open statement? It is the work of Dr. Salter and his associates.

In settling a place, character often counts more than money. The formative period is the briefest that occurs in history. The secret of stamping any impress on the newer portion of the country is in the keeping of the first permanent settlers who become by that fact historic. On Dr. Salter's coming, Iowa was in the alpha of development. The natural resources of the State predestined it for a great future. He came not to find a place for himself but to make one. The final test of a ministry is its quality. "I cannot play on any stringed instrument," said Themistocles, "but I can tell you how from a small village to make a great and glorious city." So could Dr. Salter. He was Burlington's first citizen. Aside from those who serve or have served in political office, he was the first private citizen of Iowa. A vote of thanks was once passed by a Roman Senate to a certain prominent man and public servant because he did not despair of the city. So Dr. Salter's faith in the most trying hours was like the arbutus in our northern woods, blooming and fragrant in the chilly atmosphere of a tardy spring.

If you would see his monument, look around. There is Burlington. Mark Iowa itself. His influence lay in what he was himself. His power was felt in every matter that concerned the good of the community. His character had the proper poise, the native dignity, the self respect, which, with



a certain solidity in his attainments were altogether unique in their combination. He was always on the right side of every public question. He served often upon public committees to which had been assigned difficult duties. It was not only what he did but the way he did it that made him distinguished among his fellow citizens. Had he been a weaker man, we might look to find mysteries about his character and career. As it is, everything is plain, straightforward, substantial. He went west and entered upon a career projected by nothing except inherent energy and high resolve. Who will take up the suspended service? I here venture to say that no one man can do it; but if one could, he would be surprised to find how much of his labor was for the good of others. Dr. Salter's life is a complete fresh volume on the evidences of Christianity. His fine personal appearance, his well-rounded, distinguished head, his intelligence and attention made him a marked man anywhere. On his death, I happened to meet the editor of our leading denominational paper, who spoke warmly of his handsome appearance, of his affable, companionable nature, and of his pleasing address. What a guest he was! What a friend! On such points I want to be heard. One of the last acts was to direct to me, with trembling hand, some memorabilia concerning his first work in Iowa. He followed this with a short, beautiful letter, and knowing that the sands of his life were spent he added, feebly, the single word, "Adieu." His character was an achievement. His career contains an earnest lesson to young men. His whole life would lend itself to treatment in a volume upon Success and One of Its Achievers. One chapter would deal with falling to work while young. He did not wait until his best years were gone before he closed in upon his task. Education will some way have to be readjusted so that a man can begin his special lifework before so many of his years are behind him.

In a close analysis of the career of Dr. Salter it is revealed that while many men do not undertake professional life until twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, he was only twenty-one when on September 3, 1843, he received his instructions in the South Church at Andover. He was

only twenty-one when he made his address in the First Presbyterian Church at Buffalo. He was only twenty-one when he was ordained and preached his first sermons in Iowa. When but twenty-one years of age, he had made a beginning on ground visited today by the curious, who desire to know of the log house where he wrote his first sermons and the kitchen which was of necessity his small study.

Another thing set out in the life of Dr. Salter is the desirability of having a vocation and an avocation. By the first of these, a man earns a livelihood; by the second he refreshes, rejuvenates his mind, extends his influence, and often gains earthly immortality. Dr. Salter's vocation was the ministry; his avocation was history. No man was more diligent in his vocation, and no man better used his avocation to reinforce his vocation and extend its scope, its attractiveness, its power. His studies in history are apparent in all his addresses. They attracted attendants to his church and gave permanence and value to his writings. His sermons are not evangelistic nor hortatory. They are instructive and cultural. In his later ministry he was not so much taken up with the supernatural as he was with the spiritual. His famous sermon on "The Human Hand," while it is unique, is still characteristic, as it is always fair to illustrate by an extreme case. "When a man reveals his character and intention we say 'He shows his hand.' To give sense and meaning to a letter, to make your check valid or your last will and testament, you sign with your hand. The training of the hand is the chief part of education. Whoever has a winning and skillful hand and will use it for his own benefit, or for that of others, may come to his own advantage and to the advancement of the world. If one does good or bad, it is usually the hand that does it and makes him worthy of credit or blame. Without a guilty hand, crimes would be comparatively few. Deadly weapons would do no murder nor the intoxicating cup have a victim. How many trades are plied with the fingers! The spinner, the weaver, the compositor, the player upon instruments, the writer with his pen or with a machine, the artist with his brush, or the sculptor with his chisel, performs the finest movements with

rapidity and precision by means of the fingers. Observe also the padding or cushion attached to the palm of the hand and to the finger tips to help in the ease, comfort, and safety of work. 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands.' Upon the death of Abraham Lincoln a cast was made of his strong and massive hand and reproduced in marble by the sculptor Volk. A fine poet said:

'Look on this cast, and know the hand  
That bore a nation in its hold;  
From this mute witness understand  
What Lincoln was—how large of mold.' "

No one could forget a sermon like this. Its value is no more transient than its effect. The same characteristic pervades his sermon on Melancthon, on the Bible, on James, the Lord's Brother, on the Spirit of the Christ, and on Bishop Butler. When a boy, I heard this last address. The imprint on my memory is ineffaceable, and here is the reason that I class Dr. Salter as an educator. In his ministry, he was for nearly two generations a teacher. No one could attend his services without being instructed. There were public men, public school teachers, college graduates, and highly intellectual people in his congregation, and he set for himself a task to lead their thought. He openly stated on going to Burlington that he preferred that field, as it gave him a chance and was in harmony with his inclination to lead a scholar's life. He was by far the most bookish man among his associates. He was even willing to relinquish certain appointments and honors and forms of ecclesiastical office, if they displaced study, overturned his literary habits, and exiled him from his library. His writing was of a character that required great research. This is true of all work in the realm of history. A man must dig for his facts. He must be exact. He must have infinite patience. I have known Dr. Salter when in Salem to spend a day in verifying a single statement in one of his treatises on history. Most ministers know what it is to write a sermon at a single sitting. Many a clergyman writes a homily that is an

exhortation just as you would write a letter. But look at those topics named above! They are the prevailing type of Dr. Salter's ministry, and it will be plainly seen that they could not be produced by a little hurried work on Sunday morning or between the services on Sunday afternoon.

I can name no other clergyman that makes such infrequent use of anecdotes for illustration as did Dr. Salter. Religious stories can be acquired like second-hand windows and doors, which are put sometimes into cheap buildings. The demand for these illustrations is such that on visiting the book stores in Boston and London, a man can buy a shelf, perhaps even an alcove, of them. A borrowed illustration in one of Dr. Salter's discourses would have appeared grotesque. The New England mind if left to itself conjectures that preachers on the frontier were loud. Not so. Dr. Salter was gentle, well-mannered, ruling his tongue, and showing invariable refinement. Here was his power. This is the reason that he stood as an exemplar in the new territory. His style of rhetoric resembled that of Antony who said, "I am no orator as Brutus is. I only speak right on." But I like that kind of address best if Antony speaks as well as Shakespeare makes him speak. There is now no style of oratory that is distinctly "Western." If there were, Dr. Salter would not exemplify it. We know what his first sermon in the West was after his ordination. It had the quality of nicety. It was fine, choice. He might have preached it the next Sunday to divinity students in Cambridge, and he could not have chosen better. In 1843 the people of the West greatly preferred an educated ministry, but they must have religious teachers of some kind, and so sometimes were forced to put men into the ministry in six months or a year after their conversion. But the Missionary Society that was behind Dr. Salter in his beginnings determined to advance no farther or faster than it could go with the guidance of men who had been specially trained for their work. It stood for an educated ministry and undertook the responsibility of furnishing it for that territory for which Jefferson had paid three and a half cents an acre. The words used by the City Council of Burlington when it came to take action on Dr. Salter's death are



suggestive. "He has taught good morals and sound principles." "His teaching" is referred to again in the short paragraph, showing that politicians, men of affairs, who knew Dr. Salter as a citizen almost unconsciously used words that made him prominent as an educator.

In early days help could not be obtained, and many parents needed for home duties the assistance of their sons and daughters. Then boys and girls, with so many positions and wants about them, fell out of the ranks as scholars at the end of the grammar school; and as the high school was the privilege of some and not of all, there were many good people who felt that, as the higher education was enjoyed relatively by few, it should be paid for by those who were directly benefited by it. Now that the high school is accepted as a regular institution in every community, there are many of our younger citizens who do not know what battles were fought and heroic efforts made to secure this crown offered now by every town and city. Dr. Salter from the first was the champion of the high school. He was determined, patient, forceful, and tactful. He molded public opinion. He held up the ideal. He rallied the forces. He carried the day. It was at the time a great achievement. No man can take his crown. The effect on citizenship in the State is beyond computation. He was a member of the school board when both the North Hill and the South Hill schools were erected. In the 50's he and the rector of the Episcopal church arranged the grades in the public schools. On November 13, 1908, he laid the corner-stone of the new \$150,000 high school as he had laid that of the first high school forty years before. It has been accepted as a fact that it was his influence and suggestion that inclined Senator James W. Grimes in 1868 to found by a gift of \$5,000 the Burlington Library. Dr. Salter, Senator Grimes, Henry W. Starr, Dr. W. B. Chamberlain, Dr. Philip Harvey, and others effected its incorporation. When it passed from a subscription library into a larger life by being transferred to the city in 1885, Dr. Salter became a trustee. He served for a number of years as president of the board of trustees, resigning only when forced to do so by the weight of years. Himself a lover of books, he

fostered the library until it became the third largest in the State. He knew books and for many years almost every volume passed through his hands. As President Lowell of Harvard College has pointed out, a library is something more than an aggregation of printed matter in covers. It is a collection of books plus the personality, the taste, and the judgment of the man that assembles them. To choose a library is the consummate work of scholarship. The library in Burlington, because of his taste and breadth, has character and value, and includes the finest and best things that exist in our literature. In the resolution of esteem in the record of the annual session of July, 1908, the trustees say, "This co-worker of ours was eminently fitted for the position of public trust; his knowledge in all matters concerning library administration, his profound literary attainments, his productive genius, all qualified him most admirably to render the best services to the cause of free education as represented by the public library. Among the liberal donors to the good and standard literary treasures, he is second to none. His many gifts are and always will be of the highest value. We would suggest that the Mayor of the city of Burlington be asked to appoint Dr. Salter an honorary member for life of the Board of Trustees of the Burlington Free Public Library, in consideration of his merits, for the cause of free education and the public welfare."

As Mr. A. C. Hutchinson has pointed out, "Dr. Salter was always bigger than his own church. His mental equipment was of the highest order." His influence and his abiding interest were manifest in all the things that made for the good of the city and the State. His work as an educator is perpetuated in three strong, important, dominating institutions of sound learning that are winning their ever-widening way. It will be seen in these pages that he was one of the secretaries at the meeting in 1854 that founded the beloved and vital Chicago Theological Seminary. Another institution, Denmark Academy, perpetuates his influence and fame. The people of Denmark, Iowa, have led almost an idyllic life. The place from the first has taken a leading part in improving the minds of the young. It has done much for the youth of that section of the

State, and the reflex effect on the community has been benign in the extreme. The place has a special atmosphere and spirit. It is clean, temperate, moral, wholesome. In an early day its tide turned irresistibly toward education. Dr. Salter was a chief factor in founding its famous academy, which has become the mother of good citizens, teachers, ministers, missionaries, and reformers. To say that he was a trustee does not necessarily carry a tithe of the truth. He was an adviser, a helper, a staunch and devoted friend. Then there is Iowa College at Grinnell. In October, 1910, the first issue was made of any publication distinctively representing Grinnell College in which it could be said that all those who laid its foundations were no more. Unclasp the book of memory. Call the roll of the pioneers, Turner, Reed, Emerson, Holbrook, Gaylord. These are familiar sounds, but the men are gone, all gone. Summon the members of the Iowa Band. Not one is left to respond for Dr. Salter and his associates. For many months Dr. Salter alone remained of all the Congregational patriarchs in Iowa, to behold the rapid unfolding of his work with that of others in church and college. Imagination pictures a day when those who have composed the Grand Army of the Republic will be reduced to a solitary survivor, to witness the development of the great country which he, with others, sacrificed to save. It is a striking fact that at only the 1910 commencement of Grinnell College Dr. Salter stood alone in the world, having outlasted all who were associated with him in laying the foundations of that noble institution. His name appears in all the catalogues for the first sixteen years. Opening his papers almost at random, we are carried back sixty-four years and find the first president of the college, as things developed, in close and full correspondence with him. Later, the man who became president enumerates to Dr. Salter six items of business for consideration, naming, "second, Removal of the College. We have been injured grossly by the City Council (at Davenport). We cannot be secure from the dismemberment of our ground. I am for removing to Grinnell or Muscatine." It is very pleasant to notice which place was his first choice.

It is written that when the representative of the evil forces of the world, Satan, appeared to Martin Luther in his cell, he threw his ink bottle at him. So Dr. Salter became famous by the use he made of ink in overcoming evil and establishing the right. Evidences appear in all his writings that he felt, on reaching Iowa, when immigrants were crossing the river by thousands, that the times were so stirring they must be momentous in the country's annals and that history was being made with wondrous rapidity. His mental attitude and his rule were, "File your papers; these are historic days; future generations will want to know what men now do and think and say." He kept a diary which is priceless. We find the cost of everything. He left a minute record touching the field and environment of all his ten associates, most of whom he visited as they were making beginnings in 1844.

It is a general truth that a man is not allowed to be a leader and an authority in two successive generations. The period for which most persons may keep at the head of things in the world of thought and action is very brief. Here Dr. Salter proved to be a conspicuous exception. Most of his books are a growth. He did not say, "Go to, I'll be an author." It is his most striking characteristic that everything is matured before it is stated. His thinking is steady and strong. He had uncommon force of mind. He was a man of great industry. He kept his work right before him all the time. His work was so finished that it could be used in print, and it found its way there by way of the pulpit or of some conspicuous public occasion. His "Iowa, The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase," began with an address June, 1873, at the anniversary of the State Historical Society. Other studies followed, but this admirable history, interesting, compact, graphically written, and inspiring, did not see the light until after he was more than fourscore. At length he enables his readers to reach a sightly place and to survey the field and its labors in the beginnings of this Puritan State. The story needed telling. It is exceptionally well done. The style at many points resembles that of Mr. Bancroft. The volume comprises the best of everything. The whole book is written on such a plane



that when a citation is made from some learned and gifted author no abrupt change is made in the general level of the composition.

In his biography of James W. Grimes, we do not see what could be added to make it more complete. We would not suffer it to be shorter; it need not be longer; and we do not wish it different. It seems not to relate all that his subject ever did or said, but with the smallest array of facts possible reveals the real spirit and innermost quality of the life. A master can choose essentials and omit details, but he must be a master. Dr. Salter's work stands one test, that of being quoted. It is much consulted in the libraries in the various towns by the pupils in the schools. An ingenious New Englander, some years since, compiled a list of 1,000 names that have risen above mediocrity—names of persons, whose lives anyone assuming to be acquainted with American history might know something about without consulting an encyclopedia. In this table of a thousand names, Iowa is credited with but two, and it was the good fortune of Dr. Salter to be the biographer of one of them, James W. Grimes. Grimes uttered in the U. S. Senate in 1866, this striking sentence—"I have lived in three different territories, under three territorial governments, although I have resided in the same town (Burlington) all the time." Teachers often refer to this statement in their efforts to interest their pupils in historical research, and Dr. Salter's book is in much demand in their study of the speaker. They find that during the Revolution, Iowa was Spanish soil. In 1801 she had passed to Napoleon and the French. In 1803, as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, she came under American control. Later, from 1812 to 1821, she was joined to Missouri as a part of Missouri Territory. In 1834 Michigan claimed her as part of the Territory of that name, and two years later, in 1836, she was a corner of Wisconsin. It was not until 1838 that Iowa ceased to be a part of something and came into the possession of a name and identity all her own. A study like that quickens in many young minds a worthy desire to peruse the more prosaic pages of our heavier history. A charm pervades all

the pages of Dr. Salter's book and lingers in the mind after it is at length reluctantly laid down.

In printing many of Dr. Salter's writings, the bookmaker's art is handsomely exemplified. From among his publications we separate no one masterpiece. I have read them all,—some of them several times, and, whichever one it is, I always say I like best the one that I read last. The secret of his work is first in the plain narrative itself. He is a strong word-painter. Second, by leaving out multitudinous details, the picture comes out so vividly as to be surprising even to students of history. Third, more local color is given to the author's descriptions than most other authors can use. Fourth, he always tried to infer what use could be made of a fact before he put it down. It was not enough for him to know that a thing was simply true. His inquiry was, "Well, what of it?" This bent of mind was shown when Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, took up with him the advisability of placing a marker at the burial place of Black Hawk. Dr. Salter vigorously inveighed against anything which would tend to perpetuate the name, or by any possibility give credit to the fame, of an Indian who was a cold-blooded murderer of infants and women, and the wounded and helpless in battle. And when the founder of the Historical Department, the late Charles Aldrich, proposed the acquisition of the portrait of Abner Kneeland for the Historical Department, Dr. Salter was strenuous in his resistance to the apotheosis of the free thinker, against whom he had delivered some of his first and best blows on Iowa soil.

Dr. Salter gained power as an author because he specialized on history and biography. In each department in which he wrought he printed only such work as stands easily first.

**"COME OVER AND HELP US."**

At the age of twenty-one, Dr. Salter received what he repeatedly termed a divine call, obedience to which brought him to Iowa. This he affirms was in a letter from Asa Turner which, as I write, I hold in my left hand. It is, by interpreta-

tion of godly men, especially when viewed in its effects, a sacred and it now appears almost a holy thing. It is like a chapter of the Book of Acts. To Iowa this letter is at length to go, to be preserved as an object of veneration. Those who know its import will find few things surpassing it as a suggestive letter, touching the moral, educational, and spiritual development of a great State. Dr. Ephraim Adams held that Asa Turner was the instrument under God of bringing into a new territory at one time the largest accession of men from one place that the country had ever known; and that no field now remains for a repetition of that unequaled enterprise.

Asa Turner, who is the father of Congregationalism in Iowa, preached the first sermon ever delivered by a Congregationalist in this territory. A little colony of good men had been established at Denmark with the distinct purpose of extending the kingdom of Christ and of founding an academy. They invited him to come over from Quincy, Illinois, where he had founded a church of fifteen members. Rev. David Nelson, author of the "Cause and Cure of Infidelity," and the hymn "My Days are Gliding Swiftly By," which, as we shall see, is to have, as a hymn, a career of its own in Iowa, had helped him. Asa Turner recognized in this a divine call and obeyed. He crossed the Mississippi, and gave for the first years of his ministry at Denmark one-half of his time to his church and the other half to the American Home Missionary Society as its agent for Iowa. He was enabled by personal exploration to catalogue twelve needy and important fields that required missionary labors. "Twelve, then," he wrote, "is the least number that will supply this territory in any tolerable degree; and my firm belief is, that if the churches of the East love the cause of Zion and the prosperity of our common country, and men cannot be obtained from other sources, those now well settled in New England had better leave their flocks and come and aid in laying the moral and intellectual foundations of this (will-be) great state." "I count myself happy," said Dr. Salter, "that this trumpet-call for Iowa, and for the founding of the kingdom of Christ in Iowa, reverberated a thousand miles afar among the hills of Andover, a

heavenly voice, and started one and another in that school of the prophets to say: 'Here am I; send me!' "

One of Dr. Salter's classmates, the lamented Dr. Daniel Lane, the assistant librarian of the seminary, was the first to decide to go. The library then became a sort of rallying point. For fear of fire, as there was so much paper about, the use of lights was, by rule, forbidden in the library. The young men who were thinking of Iowa met in the dark "up stairs, first alcove to the left," where some chairs had been made ready for any who might come. Undistinguishable forms would quietly glide into position in this meeting, and the new attendants could only be identified as they asked a question or led in audible prayer. In those primitive days summer vacations were unknown. They graduated September 5, 1843. The exercises were held in the South Church in Andover, which was filled in every part. A song was composed for the occasion with words suggestive of their field, the prairie where hardly a fence had been built or a furrow turned.

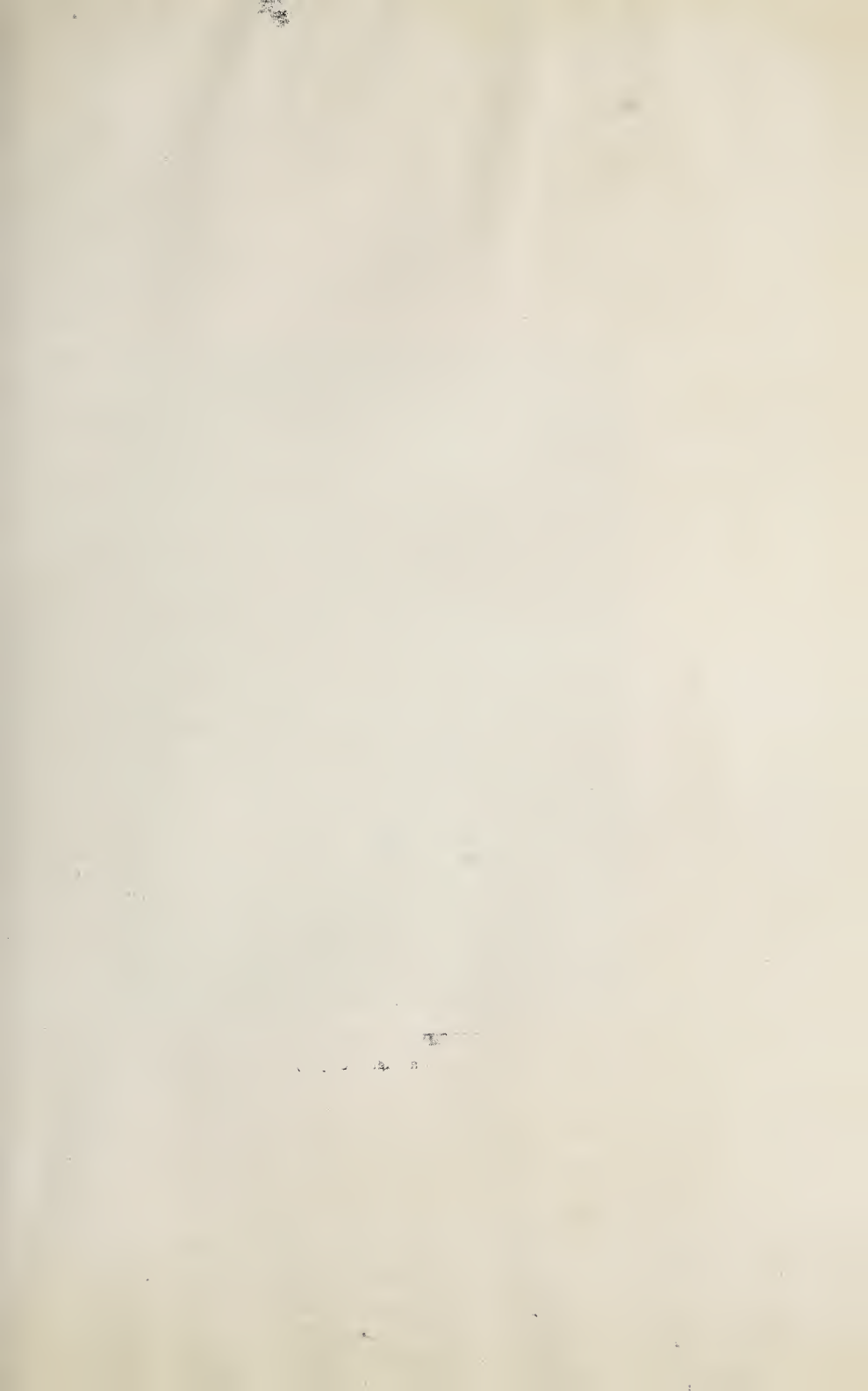
"Where through broad lands of green and gold,  
The Western rivers roll their waves,  
Before another year is told,  
We find our homes; perhaps, our graves."

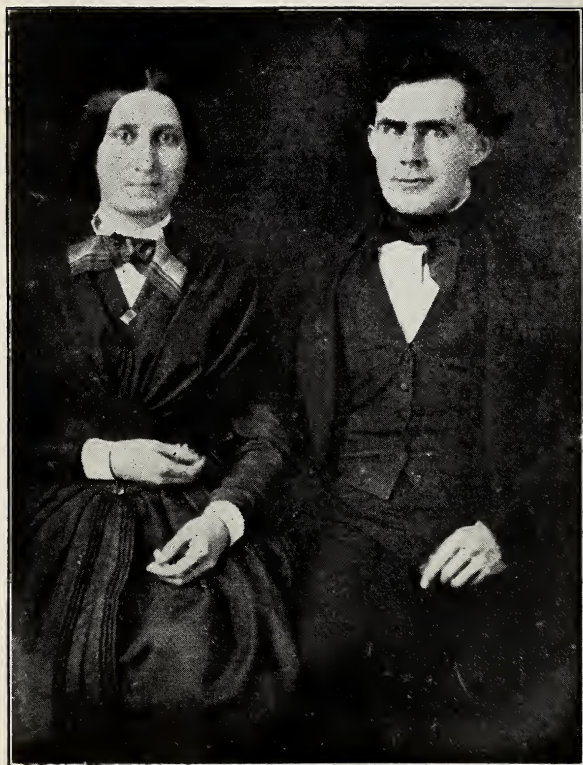
They received their instructions from the Home Missionary Society in the South Church in Andover, September 3d.\* And it is a most phenomenal fact that, while they all came to Iowa, yet after leaving New England they were never again assembled at any time in one place. Nine of them by agreement met in Buffalo on Saturday the seventh of October, 1843.

Hill and Ripley came along in the spring of 1844. The former was detained for the winter in settling the estate of his father. The latter, the best classical scholar in the company, who became the first professor in the college that they founded, tarried a few months for special study. They took the train for Buffalo, the last real Eastern city. That was then the end of railway travel westward. From Schenectady the

\*The men from Andover in the order of their ages were, Harvey Adams, Edwin B. Turner, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, James J. Hill, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Alden B. Robbins, Horace Hutchinson, Ephraim Adams, Ebenezer Alden, and William Salter. They were from six different States and eight colleges.







MARY A. MACKINTIRE AND WILLIAM SALTER, 1845  
(From a daguerreotype)

road had a snake-head track, that is, an iron strap spiked on to a wooden rail. On Sunday, in an hour of great privilege, they sat together in communion at the Lord's table with the first Presbyterian church. A rousing public meeting was held in the evening, and five of the young men were introduced and made brief addresses,—Salter, Robbins, E. Adams, Hutchinson, and Lane. The Buffalo Gazette, October 10, 1843, says:

"We cannot refrain from saying that we have seldom seen so many men banded together in an enterprise, who seemed to possess such sterling good sense, and humble, quiet characters, coupled with firmness and decision, as did these young men."

There is an Eastern spirit and a Western spirit, and to this point we will have occasion later to return. In Dr. Salter's day at Andover it is found that he walked not one day with a certain member of his class, and the next day with another, and so on through the company. That was not the Eastern custom. There was a general friendship and a genuine feeling of respect for all his associates, but the Eastern habit of the time was for men in their afternoon walk to Sunset Hill to go by pairs; not merely as friends, but as friends in particular, as rather constant chums. Thus it will be seen throughout their early association, that Dr. Salter and Rev. E. B. Turner were close companions by confirmed choice in an election of the heart. They were sometimes called David and Jonathan, and often referred to as Damon and Pythias, and the close intimacy was extremely creditable to both. By common consent it was simply assumed that they must go to the same place for entertainment in Buffalo. In all matters of the heart, Dr. Salter was immune. His Padan-aram was Charlestown, Massachusetts. It will be noted that in hospitality particular courtesy fell to Salter and Turner. They were invited into the home of the pastor himself, where Turner entirely lost his heart to Miss Brush, a member of Mr. Hopkins's household, a lady of bright spirits and winning ways. From that face he could never look away. "Whither thou goest, I will go, where thou lodgest, I will lodge, where thou diest, I will die,

and there will I be buried. Thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. The Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." As Oliver Wendell Holmes would say, basing his figure upon the well-worn paths of Boston Common, they took the long walk together, and went hand in hand for fifty years, lacking but eleven days.

From Buffalo the good boat, the Missouri, was taken for Chicago, and as another Sunday drew on apace it happened that an opportunity was given to go ashore, and keep the sacred day after the best traditions of New England. But with a new-found Western spirit, they decided to go on, and upon that "day, of all the week the best," received a terrific rocking which made them in their distress wish that they had been true to their consciences. Chicago was a low, marshy, malarial, uninviting place. It had not a mile of railway, though in Dr. Salter's last visit to the city beside the lakes, there were forty thousand miles of railway track polished by busy traffic and nearly two thousand passenger trains sweeping in and out every day. Five years before Chicago had a single Congregational church, these men had founded more than a score in Iowa. The city lay straggling along the river front, mostly of frame houses and store-buildings. Here Dr. Salter and his companions met two farmers who had brought wheat to Chicago in lumber wagons from central Illinois. Arrangements were made for passage in these canvas-covered prairie schooners. Rough boards were placed across the wagon-box for seats and in the body of the wagon were placed their trunks, books, and other impedimenta. The next Sunday was passed at Galesburg, where they had the same experience as at Buffalo of finding their hotel bills paid. Forty miles per day had been their average rate of travel. Three weeks had been consumed in a journey now luxuriously done in thirty-six hours. On Monday morning the journey was resumed, and at night the dark silent stream of the Mississippi was at their feet. The ferry boat of that day had made its final trip and could not be induced by shouts and signals to return to the Illinois shore. Notice how the company now divides. Salter volunteers to abide by the stuff, while the others cross in a



shapeless canoe, which they loaded to the water's edge. If Salter stays behind with the "plunder," as they call it, who would be inclined to stay with him? Of course, his unfailing chum, the inevitable Turner.

The exclusiveness of this friendship, as we have shown, is not invidious; it is a finer thing. It is simply Eastern, and in the atmosphere of the time would be understood and expected. There were other congenial pairs among these men. Robbins and Hutchinson: Robbins named his son, now living at Eugene, Oregon, Horace Hutchinson Robbins. Lane and Hill, who taught school together, were another pair. That school I have visited while engaged in collecting materials upon the life and works of Dr. Salter and his associates. Salter and Turner went together to their field of labor, Salter being located first in Jackson county, then at Burlington. He left Turner in a position where he turned to Holbrook, of Dubuque, for sympathy. Holbrook, on becoming secretary of the Home Missionary Society of New York, induced Turner to return to New York State, where he found his wife and located at Owego.

Salter and Turner passed the night in a rude chalet which they found standing among the trees. They built a fire, and the two guardians of all the property of the Iowa Band fell asleep.

On the morning of Tuesday, October 24, 1843, William Salter first looked across the Father of Waters and saw the future scene of his immortal labors, the Burlington which he was to make, and which was to make him, bathed in the golden light of the rising sun. Along the river front stretched a row of wooden warehouses. Back of them rose the rocky hills clad in autumn glory. There was natural, rugged beauty, which the city does not now possess. Not a church spire was to be seen for, although "Old Zion" had been used for legislative, political, educational, and religious purposes, no spire yet pointed toward the sky. Dr. Salter said the sight of that mighty, silently-flowing stream impressed him more deeply than did the great roaring Niagara. When a man's heart is

lifted up there is no other such suggestive scene as a majestic river, always arriving, always departing. The cities of great beauty are situated upon rivers. Paris has the Seine, London the Thames, Rome the Tiber, Cologne the German Rhine. The matchless stream which laves the water front of Burlington and which, with its tributaries, would reach three times around the globe, was to have a great place in the hearts of these noble men. Who can forget the way it seems to depart from its course to visit Muscatine, and the appearance of the great bend as seen from the window of the study Dr. Robbins occupied so many years? To the surprise of the men of Burlington, Dr. Salter early built his house upon the south hill in that city that he might look across the great river and be charmed with the extended panorama.

The five men who had crossed the river on the night of Monday, October 23d, found their way to a small second-class hotel called the Western House. It was the best hostelry the place afforded and was conducted by James Nealley. It was situated on the southwest corner of Fourth and Jefferson streets, later the site of the Lawrence House. The proprietor told them that all his apartments were taken, and that the best he could promise was to hang them on a nail.

We are now at the Mayflower period in the Pilgrim history of a territory which the maps of those days show extended northward to the British possessions. A bigger tonnage fraught with higher destinies is being transported than has ever before touched the thither shore of the King of Rivers. The living freight brought to a wilderness, "laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God."

"Not as the conqueror comes,  
They, the true-hearted, came;  
Not with the roll of stirring drums,  
Nor the trumpet that sings of fame."

The first man to extend a welcome to Salter and Turner was Mr. James G. Edwards, founder and editor of the Hawk-Eye. He had heard of their arrival the night before. He came down to the boat on that Tuesday morning wearing a

broad-brimmed hat of gray color, with a hearty invitation to all the young men to accompany him to his house. Such an invitation was not long debated by those who had passed the night in the scant shelter of the rude shack, and they followed their generous entertainer to his home, then situated at the northwest corner of Main and Court streets, on the site of the present county jail.

Among other early and well-known citizens who extended the hand of welcome to the strangers, were William H. Starr, formerly known to Dr. Salter in the East, and Albert S. Shackford, a dry goods merchant, whom also he had known as a boy in New Hampshire. Mr. Starr dwelt in a frame house on the southwest corner of Fourth and Washington streets, where what is known as the Starr house now stands.

Where Mr. Edwards stowed all the young men away when night came again is incomprehensible. But Dr. Salter states his distinct remembrance is that he himself slept with one or two others in a trundle-bed. The next morning a little incident gave rise to some good-natured pleasantry which probably had in it quite as much tender home feeling as boyish joke. Then, as always since, Dr. Salter was blessed with an aptitude for deep and sweet repose. He did not make his appearance as promptly as the rest at the early morning meal. Upon inquiry for Salter, the youngest of the party, some one explained, "Oh, he's in his little trundle-bed, waiting for his mother to come and wake him." Who can say that thoughts of the mother in the faraway East did not fill the dreams of the young soldier of the cross? But such was the innocent badinage which bound the enthusiastic young students closer together.

As Dr. Robbins had already been ordained in the Tabernacle Church at Salem, Massachusetts, his birthplace, he returned to Burlington to supply the church on that notable Sabbath, November 5, 1843, when the others were ordained at Denmark, and first and last became very familiar with the Western House at Burlington. When he was spending six weeks as the guest of the writer in Salem, notes were taken of his narratives touching his early experi-

ences, for just such use as this. He speaks in surprise and at length of the abundance of everything in Burlington, the largest place in the Territory, and not large at that. He thought there were two bushels of eggs on and about the hotel table, and he leaves a written statement that they could be bought there for 2 1-2 and 3 cents a dozen. He said they were handled and served like clams at a Rhode Island clam-bake.

The ordination of these young men was to come off at Denmark, fifteen miles away. The young men were set apart not by an ecclesiastical council as is the custom, nor by the General Association of Iowa, but by the Denmark Association. Teams from thence had been sent by the dear, good Father Turner to convey them thither. This David Livingstone of home missionaries beyond the great river welcomed them with open arms. The people, having heard that a company of young ministers were to be ordained, came in their rude conveyances from all the surrounding country and packed the rough schoolhouse meeting-house to its capacity.

This building later became the shrine of pilgrim feet. The men ordained there looked back to it as did Pilgrim to the House Beautiful, although, at the time of the ordination, a panel from the front door of the lowly edifice had been kicked out. This House of Prayer had been built with great effort by the colonists. It was twenty-five feet wide and twenty-four feet long. Subsequently sixteen feet were added to its length. It was unpainted, covered with split oak boards four feet long which were smoothed with a drawing knife. The floor was loose, the wall unplastered. The pulpit was made of perpendicular cottonwood boards, two in front and one on each side, with one black walnut board nailed across the top. The whole complete could not have cost a dollar. This gives a limelight picture of the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa.

The Denmark Church represented all the States in New England except Rhode Island, which State was represented in the congregation. Rev. Julius A. Reed, who was to give to Iowa twenty-five years of conspicuous service as Home Missionary Superintendent, preached the ordination sermon. It



came not from his library, but out of his experience on the prairies. He traveled with a white horse and a chaise with an exceedingly high top. Sometimes at night, when Mr. Reed reached his destination, the horse with the exception of a white ridge along his back was black from floundering in the sloughs which intersected the unbridged roads. But the man whose heart was moved was Asa Turner. He had invited them and was instrumental in their coming. So many who had planned for the Western field had been diverted into Wisconsin and Illinois that he told them plainly he had not expected to see this day. His spirit and utterance were like that of Simeon. As he made the ordination prayer the tears coursed down his cheeks and fell to the floor. The audience was melted by what they heard and felt and saw. Through more than sixty-five years no one was likely to refer to that service without naming the part contributed by Father Turner. Such a contingent had never before, at one time, and together, reached any western State or territory, and such a day had never occurred before in the Christian history of this country. It was like the arrival of Blucher at just the right psychological moment. Such an event was impossible earlier on account of the Indians, not yet out of the State, and for the further reason that the Christian scouts, sometimes called the Sacred Seven, Turner, Reed, Gaylord, Hitchcock, Holbrook, Emerson, and Burnham, had only lately been able to name possible points at which the young missionaries should begin work. There is no half Providence. The doors for the first time were opened on the one hand, and on the other hand, for the first time, the young men were here to enter them.

It was at Denmark that we have the opening act in the tragedy of Rev. W. A. Thompson. It will be remembered that William B. Hammond did not appear at Buffalo, so that the number of the Band was reduced to eleven. Now, by a strange providence, W. A. Thompson, who came to Iowa about the same time, was ordained at Denmark with them, making their number eight. He labored in Davis county and in other places. One of the most striking and mysterious events in the history of these young men was the drowning

of Thompson in Meredosia slough in Illinois. He mysteriously disappeared, his body floated for weeks, reaching Muscatine at just the time of the meeting there of the State Association of ministers. It was recognized by two of his earlier associates, who chanced to be out for a walk along the Mississippi. The very persons who were ordained with him were present, took the body to its burial, held a religious service, and provided a slab suggestive of the sad story.

A man from Davis county came to Denmark with a long schooner wagon to get a minister and had settled in his own mind upon Robbins and his wife as his choice. Robbins used to say that he never wondered that the man liked Mrs. Robbins, but the appointments being talked over, Turner and the few who had preceded the Band to Iowa, withdrew from the conference and it was voted that Robbins should go to Bloomington, now Muscatine. On Saturday he returned to Burlington as before stated, not waiting for the Sunday service, in order to supply the church to which Salter was to give his life. Robbins preached in a long building over a store. On one end of a primitive bench, supporting his back by the wall, was the young lawyer James W. Grimes, who became politically, as he himself says, the foster-son of Asa Turner. He subsequently acquired much wealth and attained to many honors.

On Monday, November 6, Alden, Salter, and Turner returned to Burlington, and at eight o'clock in the evening, together with Mr. and Mrs. Robbins, took the steamboat, the New Brazil, up the river. The next morning about seven o'clock, having come to the great turn in the majestic stream, they hove in sight of the high, scraggy bluffs under which nestled the little town of Bloomington. The chilly November winds made the barren bluffs look still more desolate to the young couple who were to make this their future home. No one appeared at the landing to receive them. The sensitive nature of Dr. Robbins never recovered from the sensation of having no warmth of welcome. The contrast with Burlington made the event seem more chilling. As the boat

approached the place they looked in vain for the least sign of a church, and the bell of the boat, which rang to remind the passengers that her stay was short, they were told, "sounds tenfold more like your 'church-going bell' at home than any you will hear for years to come." There are those whose eyes have filled with tears at the sound of an unusually large bell on a new boat engaged in the river trade because of its suggestion of things at home. It is the "ranz des vaches" to the Swiss soldier.

Let us roll the curtain of time back for two generations, and, as the new expression is, try to orient ourselves. No one of these men had a call to his field. Robbins was sent to Muscatine by a vote of the brethren at Denmark, and not by an invitation from the place. Spaulding says distinctly that he had no call, except from above. He saw the burning bush, heard the voice, and did what he believed to be the bidding. They shut the door to wealth and ease, and, like the Pilgrim fathers, devoted their years to laying the foundation of a Christian commonwealth. In a field so new no one could make complaint, as in the East, of being hampered and hindered with outworn traditions and antecedents. Every man's originality and formative genius could be given full play, as everything must be created. Alden also landed at Muscatine, hoping he could catch a ride in some "chance" wagon sixty miles to Solon, his designated field.

The Bloomington Herald of November 10th, 1843, contained the following: "*Notice.*—The Rev. Mr. Robbins, Congregationalist, will preach at the court house on Sunday next at half past 10 A. M." Meetings were held in the court house until December 7, when the same publication informed the public that "Rev. Mr. Robbins will preach in the new brick building opposite Smalley's blacksmith shop." The place on this account became historic. "On motion, resolved that Rev. A. B. Robbins be invited to officiate as pastor of the church for the present." "December 31st, 1845, on motion of Bro. H. Q. Jennison, Resolved that we invite Bro. A. B. Robbins to remain another year as our pastor, and that we on our part

raise for his support \$150, and that the Home Missionary Society be invited to contribute \$250."

When the others had landed whom do we find still aboard? The twins, Salter and Turner, yokefellows as before, go thirty miles farther up the river and land at Davenport. Here they found one of the "Sacred Seven," Rev. A. B. Hitchcock, just moving into a small house and beginning his labors. It was to become the site of Iowa College, which was to spring from the joint labors of all. From this place to their appointed stations Salter must go sixty miles and Turner ninety. Their only earlier sight of such an expanse of wilderness was the boundless and almost uninhabited prairies which they crossed in Illinois. They had no conveyance. They were facing, as President Cleveland in substance said, not a theory but a predicament. Mr. Hitchcock's brother, seeing their dilemma, came to their rescue and offered to take them in a lumber wagon part of the way. At night they reached the log-dwelling of Rev. Oliver Emerson, the great evangelistic, extemporaneous, eloquent preacher, then living in Clinton county. With his characteristic cordiality, he welcomed them to his heart and house. Here was one of the double log-cabins with two rooms about ten feet apart and an open space between them having the earth for a floor. In this open space was a flight of stairs leading to the loft. One roof extended over the whole and a sod chimney graced each end of the building. The logs were not hewed but laid up in their native covering of bark. The openings between the logs were "chinked" with strips of wood spread with mortar, made pretty much of mud. The floor of the loft was loosely laid with crooked basswood boards, not so close as to prevent the free circulation of air. These also formed the ceiling of the lower room.

The pioneer missionary provided for their further journey the only conveyance that could be obtained among his people, a long wagon having a box somewhat in the shape of a skiff. It was a raw and dreary November day, and the chill winds had full play upon the defenseless voyagers. They crossed the wild and boundless plain with the courage of St. Paul when he passed over into Macedonia. Once there came a sud-



den halt. It was caused by a break in the harness. From a pocket filled with strings the driver gave Salter and Turner their first lesson in harness mending. Soon they came to a small branch of the Wapsipinicon. They had poled across the main river on a flatboat the day before. Going into the stream the driver jumped upon the board that had answered for his seat, and directed Salter and Turner to do the same. When the team attempted to ascend to dry ground on the opposite bank, the wheels of the wagon went to the hubs in the soft mud.

They did not reach McCloy's mill until dark, and to their dismay found no accommodation for the night. Hence they continued to wind their way in the dark along the banks of the mill creek, in one place fording it when they could not see from one bank to the other. At ten o'clock, they reached Mr. Shaw's. This was their destination, and Mrs. Shaw insisted upon getting them a warm supper. As the house was a small log building and one room answered for kitchen, parlor, dining room and bed room, and as there were children, beside Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, there was question about a dormitory. But with a blanket Mrs. Shaw soon partitioned off an apartment. Here Salter and Turner slept the sleep of the just arrived.

The next day being Saturday, the two ministers spent the forenoon in pastoral calls at the Forks, afterwards named Springfield, now Maquoketa. In the afternoon, Salter rode to the home of Rowland Cotton, son of Deacon Samuel Cotton. On the Sabbath, he preached in the upper story of the log courthouse at Andrew. He delivered his first sermon as an ordained minister from a desk where sentence of death had been pronounced in the first judicial trial for murder in the Territory of Iowa. Before the execution of the sentence the prisoner was brought into the courthouse in chains. He cried out in anguish, "Oh, what would I give to restore to life the man I killed." Many a manly cheek was wet with tears.

At the close of Dr. Salter's service, a warm-hearted brother, a justice of the peace, greeted him, saying that in this new country he welcomed with open arms all preachers "no matter what their tenements are."

Turner preached at the Forks in a log schoolhouse, the only place where a room could be found. It had one low story, twelve by fourteen, with a half window on each side of the room and the door so low that he had to stoop to get in. He found about thirty-five hearers, seated on benches made from the slab logs, and a small stand and Windsor chair for his pulpit.\*

My plan has been to exhibit Dr. Salter in his close relations with his associates and to follow them in their united journeys and appointments and experiences as long as I could well keep them together. Now that separation is inevitable I should like to portray Iowa as they found it, and then turn abruptly, and by a few strokes, suggest what the State became before they had all left it. We shall presently glance at two or three of them in their homes, chiefly availing ourselves of Dr. Salter's eyes. We shall glance over the New Purchase, as the narrow strip along the river was then called, and see Iowa as a child-state, then turn and contemplate it as a mother-state.

Recurring to the time of their arrival in the Territory we find that on Friday morning, October 27, Salter and Turner on the way to Denmark made a detour to Farmington. There they stopped with the family of Jonas Houghton. On Saturday they dined at Bentonsport with Mr. Seth Richards, who afterwards contributed liberally to the endowment of Denmark Academy. Dr. Salter's diary, a priceless thesaurus of history, dwells on the beauty of that October day, and of their enjoyment of the delightful scenery along the banks of the Des Moines river. He speaks warmly of the pleasure that people would have, thirty years thence, when the country became settled, in the beauty of that stream. Here incidentally

\*Dr. Robbins on visiting Dr. Salter in Burlington in a fine auditorium used to recall the fact that when he entered his log church at Maquoketa he struck his head violently on the lintel, not having learned to bow his head on entering the House of God.

J. L. H.

we find the key to their courage and fortitude. They had the consciousness that in a generation those idle acres would have a teeming population.

That night they were entertained at Keosauqua by Deacon Hadden, who had purchased a mill-site on the Wapsipinicon where Independence now stands, and where it was then expected Iowa College would be located as planned by Asa Turner and Julius A. Reed. At Keosauqua in a blacksmith shop on October 29, 1843, Dr. Salter preached to a little band of earnest Christians, his first sermon on Iowa soil. In the interest of historical accuracy, it may be stated that when Dr. Salter is referred to as having preached his first sermon at Maquoketa the reference is to his first sermon as an ordained minister in his appointed place. Before he left Andover he had preached at Braintree, Massachusetts, for Richard Salter Storrs, a classmate at Amherst College of Alden, Hammond, Robbins, and Horace Hutchinson, Salter's predecessor at Burlington, and father of the orator, Richard Salter Storrs, of Brooklyn, N. Y. On Monday Salter and Turner passed through Troy and tarried Monday night with Captain Wilson at the Indian agency. Next day they dined with Mrs. Street, widow of Joseph M. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien during the Black Hawk War and later at Agency City, Iowa. The young travelers visited the graves of General Street and Wapello, the Indian chief. On their way back to Denmark, they were entertained for a night at Fairfield by Rev. Julius A. Reed, the Nestor of Iowa Congregationalism, and they visited the beginning made at Salem by a little community of Quakers. They had, they say, a vision of the radiant future of the State. "This people must soon be a wealthy people. A more beautiful country was never trodden by the foot of man."

From Denmark, Spaulding had reached his field at Indian Agency. "The frail dwellings, beaten trails and newly made graves of the Indians still remained, and they were often seen passing and repassing, carrying away corn which had been raised on their fields, as if unwilling to leave the land which had so long been their home. On September 15, 1844,

a church is organized and a communion is held in the old Council House, a building erected for the special purpose of accommodating the Indians when assembled in the negotiations with the authorities of the United States, and where less than two years before savages were sitting and lying upon the floor, smoking their pipes, and singing their songs." On the very ground where the capitol of Iowa now stands, he preached with Indians about. On February 3, 1845, Spaulding formed a church at Eddyville, holding his first service in an Indian wikipup. The next year February 15, 1846, he formed a church at Ottumwa. On reaching this place, he found fourteen buildings, all of logs but two. In the vivid panorama of the past, his labors seem like the elements and movements of a wondrous dream. Pella at that time consisted of a log house on one side of the road and a log stable on the other. The site of Oskaloosa was marked only by a pole with a rag on it. Like Samson the members of the Iowa Band are to find sweetness in the most unlikely places. In his style of living a minister cannot far exceed the members of his congregation, for a leader must keep within sight of his followers. It was the log house and the log schoolhouse period in Iowa. Alden's "library" was a cheap, thin "lean-to," clumsily attached to a store. His preaching place was in a room over the jail. On the wind-swept prairie, so open to the weather were the walls of Dr. Salter's study that he hung up bedquilts to keep out the cold. Water would freeze in rooms where there was a fire. "So comfortless and almost uninhabitable was this place," said Spaulding in speaking of Indian Agency on the high prairie, seven miles east of Ottumwa, "that more than once it was left ostensibly for some business, but really for health and safety." These men, speaking broadly, were, "west of the law."

Dr. Salter visited all the settlements in Jackson county and preached during the first quarter forty-six sermons, and at sixteen different places. He received a baptism of the missionary spirit which rested upon him richly all the days of his mortal life. The last act in his study was to frame a letter giving five hundred dollars to the Home Missionary Society



that had sustained him while making his start at Andrew and Maquoketa. These towns under his care together contributed one hundred and fifty dollars one year while the Home Missionary Society gave two hundred and fifty, making the usual salary received by the young men. In his itinerant service, he accompanied the father of the writer to his appointed field, and all went well until they came to Turkey river, when they were forced to take the buggy to pieces and transport it, and swim the horse. On another occasion when "braving the angry flood in a canoe," one of the members of the Iowa Band, in view of the perishing need, took upon himself the task of bailing out the boat with his hat; and after the young men, barely escaping, had landed, he philosophically remarked, "What a sensation it would have made in the East, if we had all gone down!" Thus they had, it seems, the pleasant consciousness, and it strengthened their hearts, that distant eyes were upon them. These pioneers had none of the facilities of railroad transportation which were afforded later to the early settlers of Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the land of the Dakotas. People crossing Iowa by train can scarcely imagine the indescribable beauty of the prairies before they were settled. They were carpeted with green grass, bedecked with flowers of every shape and color. The soil had a perfect fury of productiveness, and would respond to the slightest efforts at cultivation, with the most prodigal bounty. These young missionaries, who helped bring Sunday across the Mississippi, leave us the record that the grass on the Des Moines river bottom grew so rank and luxuriant that it sometimes stood higher than the top of the buggy; and one of them says, in writing, that you could tie the grass together over your head as you sat upon a horse. All the West lay spread out just as the Lord made it. To simply turn the soil with a plow was to convert it into a garden. "Ships are first built and then sent on voyages," said Mr. Beecher, "but Western States are as if men were rafted to sea with materials, and were obliged to build the ship under them while they sailed." A State like Iowa is likely to have an epoch that is heroic. Our studies have brought us to its beginnings. We are contemplat-

ing forces that are advancing to their work and that have been put in motion by an unseen hand. These young missionaries are confronted with the hard task of casting up a highway for our God through the wilderness. They are placed where they must do their utmost in shaping the character of a future mighty State. This was their consciousness and they were overwhelmed with the thought. They were "the salt" of Iowa. The fullness of the time had come. The history of Iowa during the labors of these young missionaries was one of steady, uninterrupted prosperity and of almost magical growth. Dr. Salter lived to write of Iowa, The First Free State of the Louisiana Purchase, but, if Jefferson had secured this State alone for his \$15,000,000 the bargain would have made him famous. In their records they speak of Oska-loosa as it begins to develop, as having a "population not less than fifty, perhaps a hundred, or more, for it increases so fast as to be scarcely two days alike and is constant hardly long enough to be counted." No equal area in the United States, and perhaps in the world, has ever been developed with such great rapidity.

Here is a map of Iowa locating only the schoolhouses, and the State is studded with them, as the sky is with stars. At every sectional crossroad, on an average, there is a schoolhouse; usually no home in the State is more than two miles from a school. And a literal myriad of teachers go down the highways of Iowa each morning, causing the State to have, in the lifetime of Dr. Salter, the least illiteracy of all in the Union, and to be surpassed today in general enlightenment by one State by but the margin of three one-hundredths of one per cent. These men saw Iowa employing more teachers than any State in the Union, not proportionately, but counting them one by one, with the single exception of the State of New York, and that alone on account of her great city. Iowa came to have in his day more banks than any other State in the Union. She was the banner State in the Civil War, furnishing more than her quota of troops. And when one soldier, enlisting for three years, was accounted the equivalent of three men for one year, all thought of a draft was at once

retracted.\* She came to have more Congregational churches than any other State except five, and in the race Illinois has the aid of a great and rich city, while Iowa, beautiful land, is only the garden State of the world. When Dr. Alexander Francis was in America to study local conditions, he hired a carriage at Marshalltown, Iowa, and visited the homes of twelve farmers, to find that the wives of five of them were college graduates. That's Iowa! That is a notable example of ideal farm life. Social clubs and literary societies are organized and no finer life can be lived than the kind which the gentle influence of fine women has brought over the community. The State ranks fifth in the percentage of her population attending Sunday school. It was found that in the year 1863 almost one-fifth of the entire membership of the Congregational churches in Iowa was in the army. Illinois had only one-eighth, Minnesota one-ninth, whereas in Iowa one church had two-thirds of her male members in the army, seven churches had one-half, sixteen churches had one-third, twenty churches had one-fourth, and the College founded by these men did not retain a single male student that was old enough to render military service. Dr. Salter lived to see Iowa have more miles of railroad than the whole country had when he left the railway in Buffalo in 1843. He saw Iowa build more miles of railway than any other State in the Union in one year, and saw her so completely gridironed with tracks that she had more miles of them than any other State in the Union except three; so interlaced with them that scarcely a farmer's house in her wide domain was out of hearing of the locomotive. He saw a day when one-third of the people of Iowa were found in the membership of her churches, a larger ratio than in Maine or New Hampshire or Vermont, and not far behind the proportion of Massachusetts and Connecticut. He had repeated opportunity of seeing Iowa possess more influence at the capitol in Washington than almost any other State. In their youth,

---

\*This refers rather to the last call for men in 1865. There had been some persons drawn for the service owing to the later congressional legislation which required the several localities to furnish their own full quota. Hence about 4,000 persons were drafted for the service, although the quota of the State as a whole had been filled and several thousand over.—  
Ed. ANNALS.

these young men determined to make religion the great concern of their lives, and Iowa has never forgotten there is a God. If the inhabitants are of exceptional character, it was the ideals and types and conditions that were thus early introduced into the State that drew people of peculiar quality and value into it, and it has become all distinctively American although drawn from many sources in the United States and from foreign countries. We are permitted to see the original colors blending and toning down until that strange commingling has been produced which constitutes Iowa as she stands today.

Except for the labors of such men as Dr. Salter and his associates, Iowa would never have been Iowa. The good God ordained and disposed, but they were the fortunate instruments. Things begun in the first decade of their labors are still perpetuated. There never can be in this land nor probably in any other such an opportunity. It was a blessed thing to start then. No one can begin to trace a career like Dr. Salter's and conduct it through putting him by himself alone. The very things which were interpreted by him as a divine "call," were by his own statement received by the young men jointly. They became an entity as distinguished from an aggregation of atoms. Dr. Dunning, editor of the *Congregationalist*, author of the leading recent work on Congregationalism, said of them, in 1894: "All have made good ministers of the word, faithful pastors; more than half of them have passed the semi-centennial of their ordination; two of them still retain their original charges. The seven and the dozen, coalescing and co-operating, at once gave prestige to their movements all along the front. It is not too much to say that their combined influence has given character not only to their denomination in the State, but to the State itself. They themselves have been built into the commonwealth that lies between the two great rivers." Together in service they gave the State more than half a thousand years. Who can reckon the beneficent influences which have flowed from these abundant labors? We are not able to estimate these things. But from such beginnings has come the miracle of time. The occasion, manner, and event had all been



ordered beforehand. The cathedral tower clock struck at a certain hour and nothing could hinder it. Dr. Salter's highest ecclesiastical honors came when he was called by President Angell to the platform of the National Council to receive in conjunction with another member of the Iowa Band the salutations of the highest body in the denomination to which he belonged. "Both men are considerably over eighty," states the report, "but Dr. Salter of Burlington, Iowa, would never be thought to be over sixty, though his beard and hair are snowy. He spoke with vigor of voice and clarity of mind unusual in one of his age. He is able and upstanding, full-voiced, and free and vigorous in gesture." In a late letter to the writer he states, "I was with Hutchinson and Spaulding in their last hours and at their funerals. I was with Ephraim Adams at the funeral of Robbins's wife. He and Robbins were with me at the funeral of my wife in 1893. They were both with me the fiftieth anniversary of my pastorate, April, 1896. Ephraim Adams and I were together at the funeral of Robbins in December of that year. I was with Ephraim Adams at the funeral of his wife in 1905. What a record of pathos and tenderness." In his record of his forty years' ministry, he says of his predecessor (Hutchinson), "I closed his eyes in death," and adds, "Fond of athletic sports, he was accounted the best skater on the river in the winter of 1843-4. He was an able preacher, given to study and intellectual culture, ardent and enthusiastic in his work, with a genial disposition that won him friends. In the flood of 1844, he preached a sermon on 'What Wilt Thou do in the Swelling of the Jordan?' which made a great impression." "Hitherto my life has been preparatory," said Hutchinson in contemplation of his passing, "when I think what God will do for Iowa in the next twenty years, I want to live and be an actor in it." Spaulding's career had a special charm for Dr. Salter for two reasons; first, he had perhaps the raciest mind of all of the brethren, was very delicate and nice in all his observations; and, second, his location and surroundings were antipodal with Dr. Salter's. The pastor in Burlington had by far the best position of the members of the Band and Mr. Spaulding

had by far the most rugged and the one closest to nature. He began his work at Ottumwa, when not only could he discern the footprints of the savage, but he could almost hear the echo of the warwhoop. Spaulding had beside a hopeful vision of Iowa which he regarded as "the glory of all lands." He said the people were so pleased with Iowa that they wrote back to their friends encouraging them to come. Associated with Dr. Salter in his valiant work in breaking the force and influence of Abner Kneeland, was Harvey Adams, settled for twenty years a little to the southwest from him, at Farmington. In this relation we come upon one of the few occasions in which Dr. Salter appears as a genuine crusader of the church militant. Dr. Salter had a sharp pen, which is said to be mightier than the sword. Dr. Adams's only weapon was the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, and such a lover of the Bible was he that in the last year of his life, and something like it was true of every twelvemonth, he read the Bible through sixteen times. Sometimes he read it through in eleven days, the last time, reading it in twelve and a half days. He used to hold and teach that, when the Bible was read continuously like any other book, it made a very much more effective impression than when read by little detachments. Dr. Salter's most picturesque relations were with Dr. Ephraim Adams after all the rest of their associates had passed on to the higher service and its eternal reward. He gave an address at Dr. Adams's funeral "and when he said farewell to his departed comrade and brother, there were no eyes in the church undimmed by tears. His voice gathered fullness and richness as he proceeded." "The natural beauty of the scenery at Davenport," said Dr. Salter, "and the air of quiet and repose then about the infant village, suggested to Dr. Adams that it was a desirable location for a college, and he gave his best endeavors to establish Iowa College upon a commanding site there. For sixty years he attended nearly every meeting of the trustees." "In my prejudiced opinion, no man living or dead has done more for Iowa," says Dr. Douglass, "than has this good man, Ephraim Adams." He was one of fifty who left Phillips Academy on being forbidden

to found an Anti-Slavery Society. He attended every meeting of the state association but one and that was when the daughter died.

With Dr. Robbins, Dr. Salter for half a century had an annual exchange, although there was for a long period no direct railway communication between Muscatine and Burlington. They first met in Union Theological Seminary, New York in 1841 and maintained an intimacy for fifty-five years. While they had much in common, yet on close review they may have enjoyed each other more because in many particulars they were so unlike. Dr. Salter was more of a scholar. Dr. Robbins gave more attention to executive and administrative affairs in his denomination and was necessarily out of his study a great deal in attendance upon meetings of boards of trust. Dr. Robbins had a boy's relish for outdoor sports. On one forenoon, in company with a brother in his church, he captured in a long net five hundred beautiful quail, but was forced to let them go, for if he put them in a log house they would, at any alarm, pile one upon the other till some would suffocate. Fourteen different kinds of fish were observed by him that had been captured in a boat upon the river. He used to go to Davenport, on college work, in a sleigh on the river, and if his course was suddenly checked the sleigh would slide around until it tipped over.

Dr. Salter also lived in close relations with Daniel Lane, who took Keosauqua for his labors, where Dr. Salter preached his first sermon in Iowa. There was no church building, there were no members, there was nothing. In ten years he built a church. During the last two years of this pastorate, he was also a teacher in the high school. Many eminent men trace their classical enthusiasm to him, while a teacher there, and later in Iowa College, at Davenport. As his sympathies were with his associates in the ministry he left the teacher's desk to return again to the pulpit. He took a pastoral charge in Belle Plaine, where the church when organized numbered but four members.

Dr. Salter held with great tenacity to those with whom he was most closely associated in the days of his earliest labors

and sacrifice, and he wrote at length about his regard for and relations with Ebenezer Alden, the phrase-maker of the group, whose sententious sayings are widely quoted. Dr. Salter pointed out analogies between himself and Alden, and they were many. An unusual feature of Dr. Salter's ministerial service was that it was performed in various ways for five generations of a prominent family of his church. He officiated at the funeral of an aged member of his church, performed the same service for the first wife of her son, and christened his children, grandchildren, and finally a great-grandson. So Dr. Alden conducted the funeral services of five members of the Webster family, representing four generations. Daniel Webster was one of his parishioners at Marshfield, and it was the dying statesman's request that Mr. Alden should conduct his funeral service. The church in Tipton was organized in 1844, May 5th, by Mr. Alden, and consisted of three members. It was formed in the barroom of the public house. The first summer he preached in the upper room of the jail, which was used during the week as a carpenter shop. He afterward occupied the courthouse. During his first three months in Iowa, he preached in Solon and Iowa City, making his home in Solon, which consisted of one frame house containing three families. The striking difference between his pastorates in Iowa and in the ancient Pilgrim town is shown by the fact that on his return to Massachusetts he officiated at the funerals of three persons who were over one hundred years of age.

Dr. Salter was not quite able to reach the bedside of his favorite among the members of the Iowa Band, E. B. Turner in his mortal sickness, but stood at his grave a few days after the burial and could say, "I am distressed for thee, my brother. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me." He joined in a tribute to his memory on the following Sabbath at Owego, New York.

When Dr. Salter approached the end of his life, carrying the weight of nearly eighty-nine years, his mind seemed irresistibly to return and dwell fondly upon his first striking



experiences in the new Territory. His first impressions seemed the deepest in his memory and were most ineffaceable. He returned to his association with his chum, E. B. Turner, and left us reminiscences of many situations which but for his statement we would never suspect. He remarks that the settlement in any new country seems slow because it devolves upon the poorer class of people to take the initiatory steps to test the productiveness of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate. The poorest are the first on the ground, not from choice, but from necessity. We learn that it was far from a joy-ride that Salter and Turner took west from Davenport. The chief thing about the places to which they came was a vast need of improvement. It is much to be regretted that we have not a more complete record of the incidents of those early days when Iowa was in the making.

Cascade was Mr. Turner's field, and it consisted of a half dozen log cabins. For hospitality, he was directed to the log house consisting of one room, which contained a bed, the table, chairs, cooking stove, and furniture. His hostess was a Christian lady. While he was wondering what disposition was to be made of him, a ladder was brought in and placed in one corner, and Mrs. S. pointed to a hole in the upper floor, and he, with candle in hand, was informed that he would find lodgings above. This garret, where he could stand only in the middle of the room, was for some time his study. The narrow tick, filled with straw and placed on the floor neatly covered, was his bed, and there was a strip of carpet in front of it to cover the cracks. He had his trunk lifted up through the hole and this trunk answered sometimes for a chair and sometimes for a table. To bury oneself in a newly organized Territory seemed a waste of education or at least a most hazardous investment of one's life. For three years after this, Des Moines, the future capital of the State, was a struggling line of barracks with a permanent population of four families and about twenty souls. And these men lived to behold it with a population of three score and ten thousand. The Territory was a narrow strip of land running along the Mississippi river about two hundred miles long

with forty miles of width and Dr. Salter saw it develop into a commonwealth of two million souls.

In reviewing the achievements of Dr. Salter and his associates, themselves their only parallel, we are summoned to an explanation of their phenomenal success.

First, these men had a rallying cry. There is great power in a banner with a device. The world stands aside to look at men who seem to know where they are going. The other great religious movements in history have had a slogan. It lifts. It concentrates. It enlists. Times are always dull when there is no watchword, no show of colors, no raising of a standard, no unfurling of ensign or symbol. These men all had a scutcheon. This was the motto, "Each to found a church, all, a college." Dr. Salter reached his destination November 10th, and his own record is, "In December, I organized a church here of seven members." It was a mile from the two forks of the Maquoketa. Fortunately there exists a picture of the building first used by Dr. Salter as a house of prayer. It was made in 1846 by the Rev. Charles Peabody, while superintendent of the western department of the American Tract Society. Dr. Salter said that with one or two slight exceptions the picture was correct. Like himself, Dr. Salter rang true to the motto which had its inspiration and did its work, the praise of which is in all the churches.

Secnd, In the name of our God they set up their banner. They connected their work in the community, in education, and in the State with the organized churches. Intelligence, temperance, politics, were not one thing, and their church work another. What they did for the community or commonwealth, they did as home missionaries, and this was understood to be so. They magnified their office, and the people took them in their work at their own estimate of it. "Voted, That in case the governor declines to recommend a day of public thanksgiving that we recommend to our churches to observe the last Thursday in December (not November) as such." Here is the logic of holy action, determined effort, invincible courage, all combining to produce a conviction of sincerity, of

earnestness, and of vigorous, all-conquering principle. Here are your State builders. These things were all talked over in their State Association, and they acted together, and as a religious force. They had a program. They knew what it was, and could state it. They had a purpose. They made it known. No other single mark so distinguishes a reformer in any history as this. Such a power is mightily effective. "The Blessing came." It spread into surrounding Western States where it had been unknown. It abides, and the churches did it, and it redounds to them, and is part of their antecedents. It is obvious that these men were more capable and potential because they were bunched. They believed in the power of together. They learned to co-operate. They accomplished by their united influence what they could not have done had they been scattered one by one over a larger territory. Their usefulness and value were enhanced moreover by the very diversity of their gifts, and the oppositeness of their temperaments. Together they were like an orchestra, where each performer has his own instrument and plays from an individual score, but all together produce perfect harmony. It is the best and truest example of a united brotherhood that is to be found in any Christian or civilized land. They were entire strangers to each other from distant, unlike places, from the largest city to the obscurest hamlet, until they gathered to use the same books, to pursue like studies, with the same lessons, in the same classroom, with the same teachers, in college in some cases, and later particularly at Andover. Then mind came to act on mind, and a little of the individuality of each was imparted to others, and the tendrils of esteem, of affection, and of sympathetic interest were thrown out and fastened. These, with their common purpose, united labors, and community of feeling, touching the whole of their life's work, strengthen as the years rise and fall.

To appreciate their effectiveness, it is necessary to keep firmly and clearly before the mind the plain fact too often overlooked that in their earliest days there was little of organization in connection either with the church or with social life. Organized Christianity grew up out of the intellectual

awakening that was quickened by the Civil War. We now have nearly three times as many people in the United States as we had at the outbreak of the strife between the States, and church organization and administration have become very much more prominent. But be it said to the glory of these young men and to the honor of the State that they engaged in team work long before its effectiveness was generally understood. From the start, they were association men. They were royal neighbors, organized and acted as such. They had their local associations and these were arched over by the general association of Iowa. When magazines and telephones, railroads and bridges, were lacking, the significance of this was tenfold. It was worth a year of toil to go up to the feast of fellowship where they planned together for a great cause and where their hearts were kindled. It thrills the feelings of any one who knew the men to read, in the scant, short, insufficient, inadequate report of their meeting in 1850, "The conference on Monday morning was distinguished by the warm flow of sympathy and affection, a high tone of spirituality, and the expression of the most earnest desires to do good." If I were limited to naming one other thing that lay at the foundation of their success as pioneers beside their religious enthusiasm, I would say that it was their passion for education. It perpetuated the ideal of the New England mother's charge: "Child, if God make thee a good Christian and a good scholar, thou hast all that thy mother ever asked for thee." From these men comes the cause of Iowa's greatness. The dead past lacks much of being buried. A great deal of it is still above the ground. Go in Iowa where you will and you still see the result of the original "Iowa idea," in the passion and determination of people that their children shall be educated. She took her stand early for an education that fits young men and women to take readily their places as productive units in the world's industrial organization. For nearly half a century it was the custom of the members of this group of pioneers in religious work in Iowa, in connection with the meeting of the General Association, to hold a little session by themselves and to write a brief memorial



of gratitude that they had been called to Iowa, that their lives had been so graciously lengthened out that half of their number attained a great age. When Mrs. Ephraim Adams became the sole survivor of the wives of the members of this group, she used to sign the minutes that they adopted. For she and her husband were the only couple of the Iowa Band who lived to celebrate their golden wedding, which occurred September 18, 1895. In 1901, Dr. Salter and Dr. Adams being left alone, it seemed artificial to continue the practice of many years, and so it was discontinued. The Tuesday evening meeting however, which as we have seen was begun by the classmates in Andover, and transferred to eleven different homes in Iowa, was continued in some form for more than threescore years. Fellowship was developed by the feeling that each of them was in the affectionate thought and prayers of the others on each recurring Tuesday night. Sympathy in a common work appeared so appropriate and beautiful that the General Association of Iowa by a rising vote adopted Tuesday evening at 7:00 o'clock as the hour for a prayerful, fraternal remembrance of one another. The writer often reviews his own life in terms of the great songs that he has heard. They mark the years with as much distinctness as the great journeys or the joys. But for pathos, for depth of feeling in the hearts of those who saw or heard, for the ineffable quality that we term "touching," I would set forward that supreme event, the time-honored custom near the close of the meeting of the State Association, when the good gray heads whom all men knew and revered used to surround the altar of the church as one expression of their devotion, and all who were assembled sang in tearful tone, "My Days Are Gliding Swiftly By." It was affecting to the last degree. This picture of the Iowa Band, etched on memory's walls, will never be effaced. All of those who rocked the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa are now translated. "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse are ended."

"And with the morn those angel faces smile,  
Which we have loved long since and lost awhile."

## DR. SALTER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

In the judgment of the lamented Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa, and of his successor, Edgar R. Harlan, Dr. Salter's natural impressions of values in literature, and especially in historical literature, excelled that of any other scholar of their acquaintance. They accorded him the highest place as a critic. A word expressed by him or withheld, touching any publication in their department, had important and unequaled effect. Thus Dr. Salter's influence unquestionably penetrated every nook and cranny of that great historical institution. Dr. Salter was able to make those at the head of the Historical Department feel from the inception of its work that the enterprise in which they were engaged would appeal to the serious and scholarly of all times in Iowa. If any lack of attention by the living was detected, it was to him a stimulus to new zeal and activity. Dr. Salter revealed a prophetic knowledge of the mind of the future toward the history of Iowa and of the middle West. His soul was that of a founder, and he stood nobly by the Historical Department of Iowa when appreciation and moral support were vital things. He was a natural collector and historian. By collector is meant that any object within the range of his vision or knowledge so appealed to his attention that he drew it into his memory and so retained it in his recollections and considered it in its bearings and relations with all similar things, and so classified it and displayed it to his own mind in its appropriate connection at its correct value, that it became a permanent, distinct, and appreciable asset. Without visualizing as museum collectors do, he became a great collector. The long correspondence between Dr. Salter and the gentlemen at the head of the Historical Department is of great value, and could be some time very profitably abstracted for the published permanent records of the State. This characterization is so just and is so perfectly exemplified in Dr. Salter's autobiographical sketch which he gave to his Burlington congregation on the 86th anniversary of his birth, Nov. 17, 1907, that we take pains to place them

together. It is obvious that in eighty-six years, we ought to have said eighty-six such years, there is much more than can be told. A great deal, perforce, must be omitted, and there is entertainment in perusing selections from his autobiography, observing what he states and noticing his principles of selection which show "his natural impressions of values in literature and especially historical literature":

I was born by the seaside in Brooklyn, N. Y., in a happy home, where my earliest memories are of loving parents, of school and church, of Fulton Ferry, named for Robert Fulton who six years before I was born sailed the first steamboat up the Hudson river, and of the stately ships I saw go by in the East river.

My father was a ship owner and with his brother had built a ship which they named "Mary and Harriet" for their respective wives. As I stood on the deck of that ship or climbed the rigging, I felt a boy's enthusiasm to sail away upon the high seas. But my father had other thoughts for me. He had been a scholar in Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., and he wanted that I should have a liberal education. He loved good literature; and Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, as well as Robinson Crusoe, the Pilgrim's Progress, and Walter Scott, were in the family bookcase. I was put to the study of Latin at ten years of age, and of Greek at twelve, and six years later began to read the Hebrew Bible and took lessons in Arabic.

Meanwhile my father had removed to the city of New York, and I became familiar with its sights and scenes and goings-on. My parents became members of Samuel H. Cox's church in Laight street, and I sat regularly with them in the family pew, and was a member of the Sunday school under a kind and faithful teacher. Dr. Cox was an eloquent preacher, mighty in the Scriptures, a leader of the "New School," and of the "Evangelical Alliance," of those days. An ardent anti-slavery man, having on one occasion rebuked the prejudices of caste and race and said that the Savior of the world was an Oriental, and probably of a darker hue than white persons generally, he was hounded on the streets as having called Christ "a negro," and his church and his home were mobbed and stoned. A leading member of the church was president of an anti-slavery society, and suffered similar insults. Those were the "abolition riots" of 1832. I remember a pleasing incident earlier in the same year. It was the centennial of Washington's birthday, and it was honored with magnificent processions and shows, that left a shining memory in my youthful mind.

At the dedication of the Church of the Messiah on Broadway, I heard Dr. Channing on "Blessed are the Peacemakers", and was charmed with his spirit and the grace that fell from his lips. Sometimes I went to political meetings, whig and democratic. I also visited the courts, and heard Ogden Hoffman, Daniel Low, Prescott Hall, and thought one time I would be a lawyer. In 1837 I heard Daniel Webster in Niblo's Garden, and was impressed with the dignity of his person and speech. After referring to the annexation of Texas, and stating his opposition to bringing a large slaveholding country into the Union, and that the question of slavery had taken hold of the consciences of men, he discussed the commercial and financial crash which had followed upon the removal of the deposits from the United States bank by President Jackson. My father's business went down in that crash, and I had to engage in some humble services, and earn a little money to eke out the expenses of my education. The same year I went to see the first ocean steamer that entered the harbor of New York, and I looked with wondering eyes upon Black Hawk and Keokuk as they passed through the metropolis, not thinking that six years later I was to make my home in the territory from which they came.

In 1839, I heard John Quincy Adams deliver an oration in the Middle Dutch church in commemoration of the adoption of the constitution and the establishment of the government fifty years before. He spoke with splendid vigor and enthusiasm of the events of which he was an eye-witness, and I was filled with admiration for those institutions, and for the orator of the day.

Towards the close of my four years in the university, a class mate from Norwalk, Conn., obtained for me a situation to teach in an academy in that town.\*

At the end of six months' teaching at South Norwalk, where I made some lifelong friendships, I entered the Union Theological Seminary, in the city of New York. Professor Edward Robinson had just returned from his "Biblical researches" in the Holy Land, and he inspired me with his enthusiasm for Bible study. I studied with him "Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels," and later in his own "Harmony," and in his "Lexicon of the New Testament," found

---

\*Getting a recommendation from the chancellor of the university before going to his work he sets out upon his first undertaking as an educator. We insert here in full the recommendation which he obtained, as it shows the child, the father of the man. By the date it will be seen that he is 18 years of age.

"University of the City of New York, April 24, 1840.  
 "Mr. William Salter of the senior class in the University having in purpose to take charge of an academy, at the close of his collegiate term, I take pleasure in recommending him, as well qualified for such duty. His high standing, in his class, for scholarship, his correct deportment and exemplary conduct in the institution, fully entitle him to esteem and confidence.  
 THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, Chancellor."



more aid in understanding the original sources of Christianity than in any commentary. He gave the students a portion of Scripture on which to write an exegesis, and he was so kind as to write upon one which I prepared, "Read with pleasure.—E. R."

At the end of two years in Union Seminary, I went to Andover for my third year, thinking a change from the din and scenes of a great city to a quiet place would be good for me, and also having made up my mind to enter the ministry in the order of the New England churches. My year at Andover was one of satisfaction and delight. My studies were uninterrupted. They were largely historical. The library was of immense advantage to me. I learned much from Moses Stuart and Bela B. Edwards. The student fellowship was cordial. There were debates, and a society of inquiry to look over the world and learn its wants. \* \* \*

The field assigned to me was Jackson county, Iowa, halfway between Davenport and Dubuque, and I labored there two years and four months. I traveled up and down the Maquoketa river and its branches, and over the prairies and through the thick woods. I preached my first sermon there in the upper story of the log courthouse in Andrew, and my second in the log schoolhouse at Maquoketa, and afterwards in the cabins of the pioneers in nearly every part of the county. The people welcomed me, and I sat by the blazing logs in open fireplaces and at hospitable tables. I traveled on horseback and my constitution was invigorated in the open air under the dome of the sky and the all-beholding sun. I had some hardships and rebuffs, but they are forgotten in pleasant memories of better things.

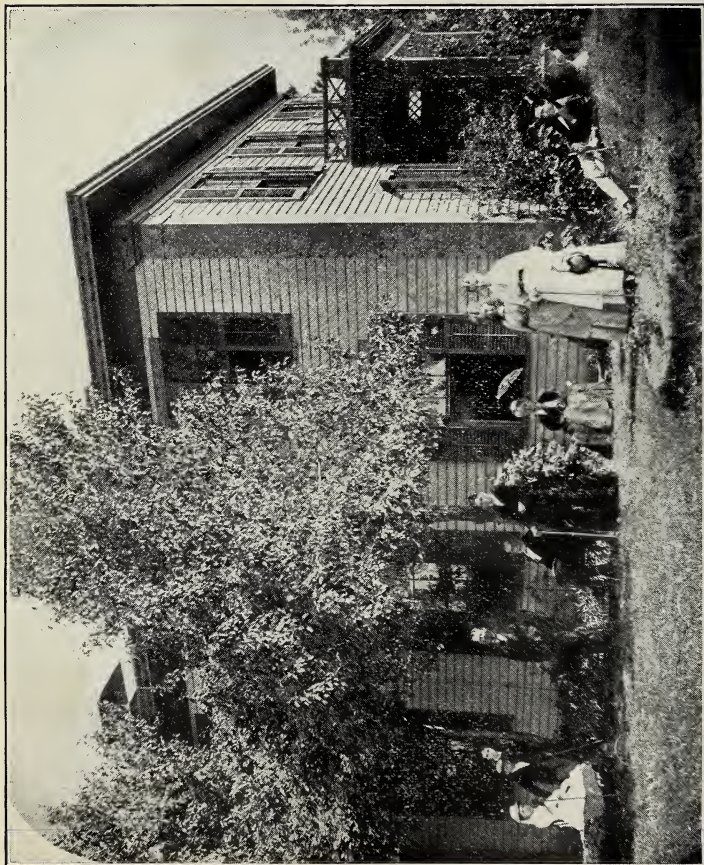
The lands in Jackson county had not been then brought into market. The people were squatters under "claim law," and there were some disputes about "claims." The settlement at Maquoketa seemed the most promising of all in the county. I built a small house there, and was living solus in it, expectant of a Lady Angelica who had engaged to wed her life with mine, when word came from Burlington of the serious illness of the pastor there, that he had resigned his office, and I was asked to come and look over the field and see if I might not be more useful there than in itinerant and scattered work. There were some demurrers. I was told that I had made a good beginning at Maquoketa and had better stay; that Burlington was a difficult field and needed an older and stronger man. But I ventured to see for myself and made a wintry journey in February, 1846, and preached for the first time here on the first day of March in a rented hall over a store on Main street, near Columbia street. I was kindly received and got a favorable impression of things. James G. Edwards and Albert Shackford were the dea-

cons. I preached two other Sundays, and visited most of the people. William H. Starr entertained me at his house, that still stands immediately north of the church. Henry W. Starr took me by the hand and said he hoped I had come to stay. James W. Grimes, Frederick D. Mills, who lost his life in the Mexican War, and whose name an Iowa county perpetuates; Samuel R. Thurston, editor of the Gazette, and afterwards the first delegate to congress from the Pacific coast, were in the congregation. E. D. Rand, Thomas Hedge, Dr. S. S. Ransom, Luke Palmer, H. B. Ware, John G. Foote, his brother Mark, and their sister Harriet, afterwards Mrs. Gear, gave me cordial greetings. We held prayer meetings with the widow Ruth Sheldon, who lived and taught a school in the first brick house built in Iowa, that which stood on the southeast corner of Fourth and Columbia streets. Mrs. F. J. C. Peaseley also opened her house for prayer meetings on the corner of Valley and Fourth streets. Of the young men of the congregation there were A. D. Green, secretary of the Iowa Historical and Geological institute, that had the custody of Black Hawk's bones which were afterwards consumed by fire, and C. B. Parsons, who became one of the pillars of our strength. The venerable Abner Leonard and his two sons, David and Isaac, lived three miles west of town, and Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Hebard, ten miles west. The Nealley brothers were three miles south.

The late pastor died on the 7th of March; I was with him in the final hour. His funeral was held in "Old Zion," A. B. Robbins, of Muscatine, preaching the sermon. On the third Sunday of March the church and society invited me to become their minister. The field looked inviting and promising, and I could not decline. Returning to Jackson county, I preached farewell sermons at Andrew and Maquoketa. I took up my work here on the 12th of April, and by the exceeding divine goodness I have continued here to this day the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. I have never swerved from this purpose, while I have thought it accordant therewith to devote some time to literary and historical studies which show the influence of Christianity in bettering the character and condition of mankind in different departments of the world's affairs. I have discoursed upon the great discoveries and inventions of the last sixty years as new evidences of the divine wisdom and goodness in the nature of things.

In the civil war, much as I deplored all war, I stood resolutely by President Lincoln and the Union. I carried my ministry to the sick and wounded and dying in many hospitals in Tennessee and Georgia. After looking down from Vining station upon the battle





HOME OF WILLIAM SALTER, AT BURLINGTON, IOWA, 1873



in which General McPherson was killed, I visited the wounded and dying, both Confederate and Union, who were brought into the field hospitals. I saw the movement of Sherman's army before Atlanta from left to right, and General Corse took me upon the ground where a hundred Confederates were lying dead, mowed down in a furious assault upon his breastworks, their bodies swarming with flies in the sultry August air. Sickened with such sights, and with my hospital work, I now returned home wearied and worn, and it was a month before I could be about again.

At different periods I have sailed down the St. Lawrence to Quebec and down the Mississippi from St. Paul to New Orleans. I have crossed the Rocky Mountains, and sailed on the Columbia, on the Willamette, and on Puget Sound, and felt assured of the future greatness of that part of the world.

Three times I have been granted leave of absence to visit Europe. I sailed up and down on the Thames, and parts of the Rhine, crossed the Danube, sailed upon the lakes of Switzerland, visited its chief cities, stood upon its glaciers under the towering mountains; sailed upon the Mediterranean; visited Florence and Rome; St. Peter's and the Vatican library; also the royal libraries in Paris and Berlin, the Bodleian at Oxford, and the British Museum in London. In one voyage home I suffered shipwreck, and was expecting to sink beneath the waves when the little brig Minnie Schiffer, from Malaga, appeared for our rescue, and brought six hundred souls safe to port.

In my sermons I have preached from every book of the Bible, and upon all the great events and characters of scripture history. The history of our own country is the crowning history of advancing Christianity, and it were well for preachers to commemorate and honor not only Joshua and Gideon and David and Daniel, but also the valor of Captain John Smith, the Landing of the Pilgrims, William Penn, the Huguenots, Oglethorpe, Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln.

I have been a firm advocate of the cause of temperance and given line upon line against avarice and greed, exhorting men to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.

In 1852 I built the house in which I have resided for fifty-five years. My friends told me that it was too far away. Most of them lived on the streets near the river. I wanted a higher elevation and a more salubrious air, and as well to have a garden and orchard and keep a horse. There I have looked up to the great heavens, the

orb of day rising in the east, and upon a thousand brilliant sunsets in the west.

I have preached two thousand and fifty sermons written in full, and thousands more from notes and extempore. I have performed six hundred and thirty-nine marriage ceremonies. I joined in the celebration of the golden wedding of John M. and Mary A. Sherfey, at whose marriage I officiated fifty years before.

Dr. Salter received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Iowa State University in 1864. His headquarters were at Maquoketa for two years and four months. During much of this time he was a traveling missionary, the romantic element in life being distinctly eliminated, his environment being untoward; yet he never made, like many, his hardships the staple of his talk. "The attendance at meeting," he writes, at Maquoketa, "increases every month. The little log house which we occupy is on pleasant Sundays crowded, and at times some are not able to get in. In different settlements are six Sabbath schools and about one hundred scholars. I have procured small libraries for some of them."

His purpose appears to have been always to buttress his work by awakening the minds of his adherents. The anomaly of his career is found in the fact, that with his scholarly habit and tendency, which were most marked, and with his characteristic nicety, he should have found his appointed work at the first among such primitive conditions. The circuit rider with whom he alternated in one of his appointments had the unfortunate practice of using the plural for the singular. Thus: "On last Sabbath, he told the people here, 'Brethren, pray for each others' goods, labor for each others' goods.'" In his diary, April 1, 1844, we find: "I should like now to have a home to come to and rest for three days, but I have not the one and cannot do the other." His work at the time was hunting upon the prairies the scattered sheep who were without any spiritual shepherd.

He became the oldest resident pastor of any denomination west of our unsalted seas. He survived all the original members of his first congregation, and, while by his amiability he made many early friends, none of them came down through

the generations with him. He had such vitality and habit of industry that it was said of him that he had broken down as many as two of his assistants and still remained at his post, preaching occasionally and rendering pastoral service. In this office he officiated at over a thousand funerals. At the time he took charge of the church it numbered about forty members. Although occupying the same pulpit, he ministered to two different congregations and to two different generations. It is no wonder that his autumnal days were serene and that a halo of glory crowned his age. In gratitude to God for the suppression of the Rebellion and for the new life of the nation, surrounded by a loyal congregation, on the Fourth of July, 1867, he laid the corner-stone of a new house of worship, in which he was to preach for twenty years. Soon arose the cathedral-like structure of stone with its massive tower one hundred and twenty-eight feet high, involving a cost of \$80,000. For this, as for the public library, in its beginning, he had money to raise, but he was noble about it, and never showed the beggar's spirit. The rich retrospect, on the surrender of his life's activities, at the approaching sunset of his career, gave him serenity, as he sat resting like Abraham in the door of his tent. His last appearance at his church was Sunday, July 17, 1910, when he pronounced the benediction. There he had been pastor in all sixty-four years and four months. What a gauntlet to run through nearly eighty-nine years. For nearly three years, his name had stood alone in the sun-bright list. The graves of his associates and of his early congregations had all been earlier made. Very early in the morning, even as the day was dawning after the Sabbath, on Monday, August 15, 1910, God called him. His watchers saw him drop into a quiet sleep, and he passed away as quietly as a spent candle goes out.

Burlington was in mourning. The mayor issued a call to the city asking that all places of business be closed during the hour of the funeral, as a mark of respect to "Burlington's first citizen." The president of the Commercial Exchange made a similar request to the board. The body lay in state in

the Congregational church. Thursday morning at 10 o'clock the house was filled to overflowing and many continued to stand throughout the service. With all places of business silent, with city and county officials in attendance and business men, laborers, and people of all classes and creeds present, the funeral was held and the great, good man, on whom in youth nature appeared to lay hands of wondrous anointing, was carried to his burial.

It was difficult to realize that a man of such striking vitality and personality was dead. His clear judgment, unquestioned sincerity, and natural leadership rendered him a remarkable man in the community. The gathering, the occasion, the cessation of care when business was at its full tide, were evidences that a great man had fallen and that the thoughts of many were arrested. Marvelous man this! Thou hast left behind a name that is as imperishable as the State, now one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of the commonwealths. Venerable, honored associate founder of sovereign Iowa, farewell! Sleep thy last sleep! Thou hast richly deserved thine hours of slumber. Thy memory is fragrant upon earth. Thy works will perpetuate thy fame. Thy spirit hath gone to the Great Assembly. "So he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

In ancient Rome on important occasions, the images of departed citizens who had exerted decisive influence on public affairs were brought before the people to stimulate emulation, and some words of appropriate address were openly spoken. This custom must have been effective, or it would have been discontinued. On April 14, 1887, Mr. E. D. Rand made an order setting aside and placing in Mr. T. G. Foster's hands \$1,000.00 to be invested according to his best judgment and the interest to be paid to Dr. Salter. Upon his death this fund was to be invested in a suitable monument. The right to direct the character and design of this monument was to devolve upon the oldest son. On October 10, 1888, Mrs. Carrie Rand made an addition or amendment to the memorandum, referring to the fact that she had caused to be



executed a life-size bronze bust of Dr. Salter, which was placed in care of a friend of Mr. Foster. This bust now stands in the Burlington public library.

Dr. Salter was in a pre-eminent sense a parish priest. He had a certain relation to the entire community. This is seen and was recognized in many forms. His influence was cumulative. He gained much in his ministry by what the teachers call the continuous-impression-method. Many persons have not done themselves justice because they have not stayed by their task. To measure the time he plied his calling, take some standard and apply it. The college that he helped to found has long since graduated the children of its graduates. The present population of one of the cities of Iowa is more than that of the Territory as he found it. One secret of his life was its adaptation. He built up his church and his position in the community and State, and they became his groundwork. His ecclesiastical relations too were exactly suited to his temperament. In the church of a member of the Iowa Band were representatives of thirty-one denominations. His church polity proved so simple, so free from intricacies, so easily understood by all, and was so administered as to give to each a voice in its councils, thus securing consequent interest and work. Dr. Horace Bushnell, whom Dr. Salter greatly admired, preached a remarkable sermon on "The Duty of a Town to Prosper." Religious teachers often think that if they act discreetly and use the conventional instrumentalities with skill, prosperity is beyond their control. But Dr. Salter concentrated his efforts on Burlington. He kept out of some administrative work in his denomination at large that he might command success in the specific work to which he gave his heart. He had to apply redoubled energy in constructive work as he encountered the manifestation of the Western spirit. But Dr. Salter gained a church following, which never forsook him. New arrivals in town came into his parish and of their own choice accepted the type of ministry and the style of church administration that existed. Thus a man in a city has a great advantage.

Dr. Salter developed and trained the church after his own heart. He began with the boys and girls and made men and women of them. He was the only minister or kind of minister that they knew anything about. He had a generous, unusual, native, mental endowment. Out of abundant materials he formed for himself a character. He went to work to do this, acting according to rules. He was a great admirer of Franklin, whose character was formed according to certain precepts, which have been given to the world. The greatest gift to the country was the character of Washington, which was carefully developed along the line of certain laws, which are matters of record. Dr. Salter's father gave him a Life of Edwards, which he read with avidity. In this volume the seventieth resolution is underscored in faded ink: "Let there be something benevolent in all I speak." Dr. Salter took pains with his character. It was carefully grown. It had no excesses. It had symmetry like his figure. Factors in a man's character are not capricious. Certain principles, habits, states of mind, and courses of conduct have their appropriate results. Delicately reared, he maintained all through his pioneer associations an invariable refinement, and he never lost the touch of genuine gentility. He was a fine example of the Christian gentleman and clergyman. He acted upon Dr. Arnold's principle in governing Rugby school, of accepting every boy on his best side and for the best that was in him. He was singularly free from avarice. Nothing about him impressed one more. His mind did not run on dollars and dimes. In a letter to his fiancée he said that to succeed in the ministry one must give oneself "wholly" to it. Some one has remarked that a bad place in a man's heart no larger than a sixpence in the East would grow in the West to the size of a dollar.

We recognize a divine Providence in three specific things:

First, "There had just sprung up," said Mr. Calhoun, in the United States Senate, Jan. 24, 1843, "beyond the Mississippi a really wonderful and almost miraculous growth as if

by magic." The fact that it occurred in Iowa was extremely favorable on account of its accessible location.

"It lies not east nor west,  
But like a scroll unfurled  
Where the hand of God hath hung it  
Down the middle of the world."

Second, We turn to the life of Dr. John C. Holbrook, a superior preacher, to find the record of another providential interposition. He says that he was invited to preach in Burlington, then the largest town in the Territory of Iowa, and an appointment was made for him for the next Sabbath, but he was summoned home by sickness and could not fill the engagement. "Had I done so, I might have settled there instead of in the place that finally became for over twenty years my field of labor." We marvel at the Hand that forbids and welcomes.

Third, At Burlington was Deacon Shackford, superintendent of the Sunday school, who had known Dr. Salter at his ancestral home in Portsmouth, N. H., and it was this boy friend of Dr. Salter's that invited him to visit Burlington to see how he liked it, and thus brought him to the place which made him famous. Says Dr. Salter, "Largely from his partial friendship and in response to letters from his hand I came to Burlington." We trace two other providential interventions. In the light of the result, we can almost admit a tenet of the new school of sociologists, who feel that much springs from environment. Coming in the full use of his social and intellectual powers to the place where the territorial government had held its sessions in the Old Zion church, he came at once to be associated with the great men of the new region. This gave him prestige, local influence, and grip. He performed the last offices for Thomas Cox, president of the Council in the sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory, and for James Clarke, the last territorial governor. He solemnized the marriage ceremony of three men who became United States senators, James W. Grimes, John H. Gear, both of

whom were governors of Iowa, and William B. Allison, who at the home of Mrs. Grimes, June 5, 1873, married Miss Mary Nealley. James W. Grimes, who was senator throughout the entire period of the Civil War, and who possessed the confidence and respect of the people of Iowa more unreservedly than any other public servant she ever had, had died in 1872. Dr. Salter officiated at their funerals and those of Mrs. Grimes and Mrs. Gear. He took part at the funeral of Charles Mason, the first chief justice of Iowa. George W. Jones, who was one of the first United States senators from Iowa, was his personal friend. Some one has written that Iowa could better afford to lose its capitol than the presence in the State of the celebrated Dodge family. Dr. Salter had the good fortune to enjoy the consideration and regard of Augustus C. Dodge, who was appointed by President Van Buren register of the land office at Burlington, and who removed to that town, which was his home for the rest of his life. Mr. Dodge had the unique experience in the Twenty-seventh Congress of welcoming his father, as delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin, to a seat by his side. It also occurred very singularly that the father and son afterward served together in the congress of the United States as senators, the one from Iowa and the other from the State of Wisconsin.

Dr. Salter also gained great prestige by his service on the field during the Civil War in the Christian Commission. We have a minute daily record of his experiences and observations, which are an independent depository of priceless historic value. He was with General Remick, Col. Abercrombie, Major Perkins, and many others of Burlington at the siege of Atlanta. Gen. O. O. Howard received him kindly at his headquarters. He met Gen. Sherman, who shrugged his shoulders as though a civilian were out of place amid the shock of arms in the "hell of war." These details show that it was instinctive with Dr. Salter to make strong alliances, that his associates were with the great of the earth, and that it was natural for him to take a self-sacrificing part in the thing to be done. In company with Rev. Joseph W. Pickett he visited



the hospitals at Murfreesboro, Nashville, Stevenson, and Chattanooga. By these measures he came into alignment with the 75,519 enlisted men, who made Iowa's name lustrous. Thus he affiliated himself with soldiers who won crimson glories. They never forget that he visited the field where they left a holy acre, marked by hundreds of undistinguishable hillocks. His experiences and services added greatly to his popularity in the State. His influence was further extended and intensified by the attention given him by local papers of such high character as the *Hawk-Eye* and the *Gazette*. The intimacy between Dr. Salter and Father Turner heightened the standing and usefulness of both. Asa Turner in some of his services, gifts, personal attractions, unusual vivacity, and sociability has never been exceeded by any person in Iowa. He lacked little of genius, had mother-wit, a quality much to be coveted, a patriarchal grace of bearing, a strong flavor of personal character, which, with a certain directness of address, gave him, with his relish of real native eloquence, great popular acceptance, and he was revered and beloved by all who knew him in every relation of life.

Dr. Salter, more than once, early visited Wisconsin, and was even urged to transfer his activities to that field. At Mineral Point was Zechariah Eddy, very congenial to Dr. Salter from similarity of tastes and experiences. They both began to preach when extremely young and both were makers of hymn books.\*

The firm hold that Dr. Salter took upon men of position, influence, and power in all relations is unparalleled. Many persons will say that a man with such alliances and reinforcements must of course come to successful results, but supporters cannot rally about nothing; where the friendly spirit is, there the friends are gathered together. It takes a strong, dominating personality to hold together such diverse interests and unlike individuals. Men would agree on Dr. Salter and

---

\*Dr. Eddy's migration to the West turned on this incident. At a Sunday evening monthly concert, his church choir sang the chant, "I Cannot Rest, There comes a sweet and secret whisper to my spirit like a dream of night." His heart melted down. The next day he wrote to Dr. Badger of the Home Missionary Society, offering himself for work in the West.

respect him when they did not always agree politically and otherwise among themselves, nor entirely believe in each other. After all, in success, friendship is the largest single asset. Men will sometimes organize a bank because they have a man that they together believe in, and whom they together want to advance. So in a church, a number of prosperous, stalwart men can tremendously gird and strengthen a minister. The sermon preached by Peter at Pentecost was not set out by Peter alone. The effectiveness lay in the fact that it was "Peter standing up *with the eleven*." The men who stood with him were exhibited in what he did.

Burlington was always peculiar in that it was central to so many ties that were remarkable, almost enviable. On Dr. Salter's fortieth anniversary, in a great catalogue of those who made the occasion brilliant, there comes of course Robert J. Burdette, who made himself world-famous by his wit, and who has been not a whit less acceptable as the pastor of a great Baptist church on the Pacific coast. Burlington had the luck to be central in equipping in part John E. Clough for his work which became the cynosure for all eyes in the Lone Star Mission in the Telugu country of India, where, organizing a church of eight members, a nation was born in a day, where a church of fourteen thousand three hundred thirty-eight members were gathered with electric brevity. If a chronicler of events is pressed for an explanation as to why certain cities like Burlington and men like Dr. Salter are accorded such a destiny, he must fall back upon the fact that men like Caesar, Hannibal, and Napoleon have held a belief in their stars, that Moses and Paul recognized a factor not of themselves which we can call Providence. Dr. Salter like the Wise Men from the East followed the star. He was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. In his beginnings, he did not quail at hardship. Undoubtedly, a new country enlarges men's souls and introduces new blood and infuses new life. All honor to the blessed fragrant memory of the Immortal Eleven, whose names are in the Book of Life. Hail to the heroes of the cross who could eschew ease, wealth, and luxury and go forth, upon a work that was to every one of





*Mary A. Salter*



them a venture of faith, in a spirit of self-denial. Our task is to wipe away the dust from their earlier picture, to retouch it, to reframe it, and to hold it up to men who may admire their fidelity, their sublime faith, their zeal, their early enthusiasm, their devotion. On memory's canvas, many of the lines are already fading. Yet those early scenes and events may be made to retain an almost glowing warmth of color. When the machine was worn out; when the flame which flickered in the lamp of life could no longer be renewed; when a city had become perfectly established; and when the State was no longer an experiment; then the patriarch of Iowa's religious history, who in nearly sixty-eight years had never laid down his pastoral crook, turned his steps and followed his early associates to the land where he would be no pioneer.

#### HIS OTHER SELF.

The helpfulness of Mrs. Mary A. Salter became as distinct and vital as that of her distinguished husband. No two lives were affiliated more perfectly. They must go down in history together. Their reputations are co-ordinate. They illustrate upon the early ages of the history of Iowa how two lives can be together consecrated and blended in example and service. She was just the one to carry the ideas and ideals of New England and set them up in the beginnings of a new Puritan State. Under just these influences, Iowa came to mean a commonwealth controlled by the very motives and principles which she embodied. To any one who thinks that heroism has become extinct, I point to this young woman, delicately reared, following the husband of her choice to a cramped house in the crude West, accepting joyfully conditions with which she could have had no acquaintance. She welcomed with grace all temporary discomforts in the satisfaction she had in co-operating in laying the foundations of religion and education in a new community. When a member of the class of 1844 at Bradford Academy, from which she graduated, she was characterized as "reserved and dignified in bearing." Being nobly gifted, her new environment unfolded her fine qualities,

and she became an extremely attractive shepherdess to her husband's flock, a great favorite, affable, beautifully kind, urbane, and gracious. She was strong intellectually. She developed great executive ability. She was naturally systematic and orderly. She is remembered by everybody as sweet and placid. She carried from an Eastern home genuine culture and refinement. She adorned her station. Her heart was full of the highest, noblest sentiment. From early life she developed a way of preserving little niceties from her reading, in a book, which is now, as I have it before me, filled with graces of speech, nuggets of wisdom, and beautiful little poems which she was committing to memory. Here is a soul's treasure-house, containing the store of a lifetime. One cannot turn the leaves of this book without stopping to copy. Her own life was another such book. Dr. Salter was proud of her. She doubled his power. She extended his influence. She tremendously reinforced his work.

Their courtship was an extremely happy one. The course of true love in this exceptional case seems to have run smooth. They met first during the summer Dr. Salter left for the West, 1843. They became engaged during his visit to Charlestown, Mass., her home, during the summer of 1845. They were married in the Winthrop church at Charlestown at noon, August 25, 1846, the year Dr. Salter went to Burlington.

The correspondence on both sides during their unmarried days is filled with beauty. Here is a passage from one of his letters: "God will not give. . . ." "Sabbath evening. Here my candle expired last night and not wishing to disturb the family, I retired," suggesting what are famed as the "unfinished sentences" in our best literature.\*

Miss Mary A. Mackintire, his fiancée, on her part, writes from her home August 13, 1845, of one of her friends who was away during his visit, and says, when she "received the news that I was engaged and you were gone, she cried." "You can't imagine how the news spread." She writes that her

\*One is reminded of Whitefield's lighting a candle in Newburyport to go to his room, and, finding a great company at the door, preaching to them the last night of his life until the candle died in its socket, and of Paul, who "continued his speech until midnight."

brother George said that even the little boys in the street would come to him and want to know about his sister, where she was going, who with, etc. Dr. Salter later wrote the "Life and Letters of Ada R. Parker," a very versatile and talented woman, who was Mrs. Salter's classmate at Bradford.

Here is a picture of Mrs. Salter in her new relations as portrayed by Ada R. Parker in the "Daguerreotypes of Bradford Class of 1844," written in December, 1852: "On the banks of the Mississippi, 'neath the roof of a busy dwelling, sits the good deacon's daughter. A child of three summers plays at her feet, and beside her stands her husband. Tell it not in Gath, my friend, but she is proud of him; for even parsons' wives are not always perfect. But a noble destiny is hers who has left kindred and a precious New England home for a work of love in that far-off valley. It may be that loving hearts are sometimes yearning to win her to their paths again, but call her not back. There let her live and labor in that mighty vineyard; there let her die. And when the 'Father of Waters' shall chant her requiem, may its own busy memories awaken the thought that she too was not an idler; that she did not live in vain."

Having made the matter a subject of investigation, personal inquiry, and large correspondence, and having seen and having known from my earliest recollection the wives of the members of the Iowa Band, I here put down my judgment, weighing my words, that, in intellect, social power, winningness, appreciation of opportunity, and acceptance and favor with the people, they were in no wise inferior to the royal men whose work in Iowa has had such wide acclaim. After religion, they supplied, that of which a new field stands in perishing need, tact. The men had the holy ambition to build and the Heaven-sent women had the divine purpose to co-operate. I know the sentiments in the churches and communities and the responses that will be given to this expression, and it is pleasant to become for a moment the mouthpiece of so united and enthusiastic and grateful a multitude. To speak of these effective, warm-hearted leaders, full of initiative,

mother-wit, and refinement, simply as the wives of the home missionaries, is not to rise high enough to do them justice. The churches where they served will not stand for less than the outright recognition of what they were and what they brought to pass.

The instincts of these high-minded women co-operating with the men toward whom honor has been carried well-nigh up to canonization taught them the use of another force which one needs to have observed in its operation, or to have felt in its results, to appreciate its effectiveness, and that is the power of Christian hospitality. Many people in the West felt themselves to be exiled. From reasons of fortune, in quest of health, or in a spirit of adventure they were making a new start in a new country. From distant parts of the Union, some from New England, and in Burlington many from the South, some even from different quarters of the globe, having diverse habits, accustomed to unlike methods of public worship, these people were assimilated. The home was an alembic. Until I saw its explanation in the new fields of Iowa, I never dreamed the reason why the New Testament so strongly insists upon Christian hospitality. As a force in the West, its value was beyond computation. It is suggestive, in all the Salter correspondence, to observe how frequent are the references to the enjoyment of this hospitality. Dr. Lyman Whiting, a preacher of great reputation, once pastor at Dubuque, came up the river and expected to pass the Sabbath in Burlington at a hotel. Mrs. Salter, he says, would not listen to it. It is suggestive to notice the number of times that both young men and young women, in referring to their life in Dr. Salter's church, refer to the influence and hospitality of his home and the impression made by it.

The efficiency of Dr. and Mrs. Salter was greatly augmented furthermore by the reinforcement which they received from Deacon E. P. Mackintire, Mrs. Salter's father, a prosperous, ardent, benevolent man, whose great heart followed his favorite daughter into a work which had his heartiest Godspeed. It was decided for example, by Dr. Salter and



his associate trustees to erect a building for Iowa College, "which, when inclosed, should not exceed in cost the sum of \$2,000." It was of brick, 35 feet wide by 48 feet long, one story high, and sixteen feet in the clear. It was to stand on the bluff at Davenport, northwest of the courthouse, overlooking the river. It was surmounted on the south end; in front, by a small belfry, in which swung the first college bell in Iowa, presented in 1849 by E. P. Mackintire of Charlestown, Mass.\*

In contrasting Dr. Salter's environment with that of his ministerial associates, it is plain that his effectiveness was much increased by the favoring conditions in which he labored. For fifty-eight years he had one fine large place for his study. Its glory was a large open fireplace with plain red bricks for hearth tiles, and here the sermons and the books were composed which make his name immortal. This was the treasure house for the best things in literature accumulated through long and untiring acquisition. The residence was far in advance of the abodes of most of the missionaries when it was built in 1852. It is pleasant to find that Deacon E. P. Mackintire helped him to acquire it with some further help from Dr. Salter's brother, Benjamin, of New York city.

After having occupied the commodious house overlooking a large part of the city of Burlington for forty-one years, "a house not made with hands," by a swift transfer, became Mrs. Salter's home. Like Enoch, she was not, because God took her. There was no long dying. When her life was at its zenith, with every wish about to be fulfilled, suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, her work was done, the chariot of God was waiting, and she took her way suddenly to the world

\*When the home missionaries came East, as we find they did, one by one, on visits, they always called on Deacon Mackintire, and when they returned to Iowa they did not go empty-handed. He was profoundly interested in them, and after the custom of the time introduced them to the merchant princes and to the churches, and the reports of their self-sacrificing labors were heard with sympathy and with responsive benevolence. Deacon Mackintire stands for a type in those relations that existed two generations ago, when Boston's merchants so largely supplied the sinews of war for the soldiers of the Cross. When a college or a church needed to be fitted out, some representative would start for Boston, and her consecrated business men made her name a synonym for Christian munificence.

of spirits. A dreadful accident happened between 11:00 and 11:30 o'clock, June 12, 1893. Dr. Salter, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. L. H. Drake, and the latter's daughter, Mrs. C. I. Millard, were driving in Aspen Grove near the south line of the cemetery, in what is known as the "new part," and, within two or three hundred yards of the western limit thereof, the party came upon a number of workmen, engaged in felling a large oak tree that stood about fifteen feet from the side of the driveway, on the south. Dr. Salter, who was driving, drew up his horse and accosted the workmen whom he knew, as was his wont. The conversation had continued several minutes when Henry Berges, Sr., who stood talking to the doctor at the butt of the tree, with one hand resting thereon, felt the tree begin to fall and he called out in warning for the party to drive on quickly. The warning came too late, however, and before any effort to escape could be made, the massive oak with large, spreading branches crashed down upon the surrey, pinning the occupants beneath the enormous weight of the gnarled branches. Mrs. Salter was instantly killed. Mrs. Drake, who sat in the surrey by the side of Mrs. Salter, was uninjured. Mrs. Millard, who was by the side of Mr. Salter, escaped with a wound upon her arm. Mr. Salter received severe injuries that made him utterly helpless at the time and for a month afterward. The workmen were cutting at the tree on the south, with the intent and expectation that it would fall in that direction. Indeed, a line had been made fast to the top of the tree and several attempts had been made to draw it over to the south, but it had stood firm and resisted all such efforts. Why it should then have fallen to the north no one seems able to explain. The south breeze may have borne with sufficient force against the extended top to force it over.

Dr. and Mrs. Salter are greatly honored in their children, who are held in high regard, not only on their parents' account, but on their own. Each has had a vigorous, independent, successful career, and energy is shown in the fact that each has followed a line distinct from the others and

has come to a good result by his individual, native gifts. William Mackintire, an accomplished scholar, having unusual facilities in the University of Goettingen (Germany) and the School of Political Science of Columbia University, was for about twenty-five years a lecturer for the societies for Ethical Culture in Chicago and Philadelphia. He is temporarily a special lecturer for the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. He has published many magazine articles. Among his more important books are *Die Religion der Moral* (Leipsig, 1885), *Moralische Rader* (Leipsig, 1887), *Ethical Religion* (Boston, 1889), *First Steps in Philosophy* (London, 1892), *Anarchy or Government, An Inquiry in Fundamental Politics* (New York, 1895). Sumner Salter has followed the profession of music. He has been organist and choir-master and private teacher in Boston, Syracuse, Cleveland, Atlanta, New York, and Ithaca; and is now the director of music at Williams College, Massachusetts. He has also been editor of *The Pianist and Organist*, a founder of the "American Guild of Organists," and president of the New York State Music Teachers' Association. He has himself written many musical pieces, vocal and instrumental. His wife, Mary Turner Salter, is a well-known singer and composer.

George B. Salter, educated in the Burlington schools and at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., has preferred a business career, and the good results have justified his choice. He has lived in Burlington practically all his life. He is the president of the Salter Clothing Company. He lives in the house in which he and his brothers were born, and where he with his devoted wife gave filial care to Dr. Salter after his great bereavement.

#### TWO OF DR. SALTER'S SUNDAY SCHOOL SCHOLARS.

At the semicentennial celebration of Dr. Salter's pastorate, in a united service of the Sunday school and the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Dr. Salter based his address upon the career and qualities of John M. Corse, be-

ginning with the words, "Dear Children: Fifty years ago, there was a boy in this Sunday school eleven years of age." It was he to whom later General Sherman signaled: "Hold fast, we are coming." For at Allatoona, 2,700,000 rations were stored, three weeks' supply for Sherman's whole army, and other stores, and to retain these for the Union army was a question of life or death. Gen. French sent a message to Dr. Salter's Sunday school scholar, demanding his surrender, to "save a needless effusion of blood," and allowed five minutes for deliberation. To which the Sunday school scholar replied that he was ready for the "needless effusion of blood" whenever it was agreeable to General French, and the assault began. After the signaling came: "Tell Allatoona. Hold on. General Sherman says he is working hard for you." General Corse signaled, "My losses are very heavy. Tell me where Sherman is." General Sherman said, "He will hold out. I know the man." Although, as General Corse stated, he was "short a cheek bone and an ear," he had the grit to "hold the fort." This incident gave P. P. Bliss the song, "Hold the Fort For I Am Coming," and fame that went round the world. The vivid imagination of the hymn writer never lost sight of the heroic figure of that Sunday school scholar, gashed in the face and stunned, having lost, too, more than one-third of his command, which was small at the best, imperiled by an entire division of the Confederate army, standing up against such odds. Mr. Bliss, only two nights before his death in the Ashtabula railway disaster, sang one of the last of his compositions, "Hold Fast Till I Come," almost the exact words of one of Sherman's signals to Corse. In Dr. Salter's Sunday school at the same time was a fair and lovely girl, who afterward became General Corse's wife.

To this same celebration of the semicentennial of Dr. Salter's pastorate, came a letter from Major S. H. M. Byers, who as a barefooted boy attended Dr. Salter's Sunday school in 1851. Major Byers is the author of the great war song, which gave the name to the campaign, "Sherman's March to the



Sea." A million copies of the song have been sold. It is known everywhere. The experiences of Major Byers in Confederate prisons, as told by him in articles in magazines and in lectures, have thrilled the country. He found himself at Macon in a sand-pen, two acres in extent, surrounded by a stockade, twelve feet high, on top of which sentries were placed. Twelve feet inside of the stockade was the dead-line, crossing which, any prisoner would be instantly shot without challenge.

To Major Byers more than to any other man can be traced the fact that, in the matter of state pride, Iowa exceeds all commonwealths in the Union, except two, and that she has more nationality in her patriotism than is usual. She has steadily refused to have a State flag, being content to be one star in the one flag of the nation. He who had been the barefooted boy in Dr. Salter's Sunday school wrote a song for Iowa, which has been adopted by the General Assembly and by over two hundred colleges and schools. The use of this song, with certain other specific influences, has greatly inflamed State pride in the hearts of the young.

"You ask what land I love the best,  
Iowa, 'tis Iowa.  
The fairest state of all the West,  
Iowa, O! Iowa.  
From yonder Mississippi's stream  
To where Missouri's waters gleam,  
O! fair it is as poet's dream,  
Iowa, in Iowa."

Major Byers, who also wrote the pearl of all books of travel, "Switzerland and the Swiss," boasted that he still owned a Testament which was given him in Dr. Salter's Sunday school for committing Bible verses to memory.

#### THE RENOWNED BIG STICK OF IOWA.

In Dr. Salter's library stood a treasured memento of the Iowa Band that became with the rise and fall of the years a great asset. It was originally the gift of an ardent admirer and personal friend, Dr. James Taylor of Ottumwa, to

Rev. B. A. Spaulding, a member of the Iowa Band, as an expression of esteem, in 1864. Three years later when he died, it was found that he had willed the silver-headed, silver feruled cane to the eldest surviving member of the Iowa Band, with the request that it be passed on, at death, to the oldest survivor in that company. From Mr. Spaulding it went to Daniel Lane, who retained it for twenty-three years. From him, it passed to Harvey Adams; then to A. B. Robbins, who had it for only three months. In the same year it reached Ephraim Adams, who retained it eleven years, when it fell to the sole survivor of the illustrious company, Dr. William Salter, whose it was until Monday, August 15, 1910. It was then transferred to its permanent enshrinement among the precious relics and memorabilia of the Iowa Band in the college at Grinnell. Upon the cane are now inscribed six names. The name of the first owner is engraved upon the head plate:

B. A. Spaulding, 1864.

Died March 31, 1867.

Just below the top of the cane is set a silver scroll, upon which appear the other five names:

D. Lane. Died April 3, 1890.

H. Adams. Died Sept. 23, 1896.

A. B. Robbins. Died Dec. 27, 1896.

E. Adams. Died Nov. 30, 1907.

W. Salter. Died Aug. 15, 1910.

With what tenderness and suggestiveness, Dr. Salter must often have regarded that black ebony stick that stood in his study waiting for its last inscription. The precious memento was usually delivered at the funeral of its last possessor to its new owner. Only once was this ceremonial interrupted and that was with the death of its second possessor, Dr. Lane, who died in Freeport, Maine, and by reason of the infirmities incident to his more than eighty-seven years Dr. Harvey Adams was unable to make the journey as usually was done to receive it. In every other case, it was solemnly, tearfully,

religiously passed along in a little ceremonial so affecting that the eyes of all who witnessed it were suffused with tears.

TRIBUTES ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

When Dr. Salter had completed forty-five years of continuous ministry, he carefully reviewed his work and the growth of the church, and at the conclusion of his sermon gave his hearers a painful surprise by reading his formal letter of resignation. The scene which followed was touching in the extreme, but was so spontaneous and genuine that it must have deeply impressed the good man and made him feel how dear he was to the hearts of his people. The realization that he felt that weight and cares of years, and need of rest, gave to all a sense of sincere regret, and the love and respect felt for him showed itself unrestrainedly, many of the audience being visibly affected. The good doctor gave, as his reason for this step, the fact that with that year's service he would round out man's allotted space, the threescore years and ten which are appointed unto us, and that having had the loyal and loving support of his congregation through so many years, and feeling his strength unequal to his tasks, thought it fitting that the burden should fall on younger shoulders. It was freely and openly stated, however, by those who had heard the letter that the resignation would never be accepted, one going so far as to say that such a thing would not seriously be considered at all. If anything could breathe a stronger spirit of love and veneration than the resolutions of the trustees which follow, we know not where to find it in the history of our denomination or of the church in general.

*Whereas*, Mr. John W. Gilbert, president of the board of trustees of the Congregational church and society, has submitted to the board a letter of resignation from Dr. William Salter, as pastor of this church, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That it is with feelings of sadness we are called upon to meet this question. Recognizing the truth expressed in our beloved pastor's letter that he has nearly reached the allotted years of human life, we feel that the labors of the pastoral care of this church have begun to be greater than we should ask him to sustain

unaided and alone; witnessing his constant growth in mental and moral force and in the power of the Holy Spirit, feeling that at no time in his long pastorate have we been more bountifully supplied by him, intellectually and spiritually, than now, that the added years are but adding grace and beauty to his ministry, we have failed to note the physical impairment which he names in his letter. To relieve him of labors too heavy for the bodily weakness incident to advancing years, we will join with him in selecting an assistant to relieve him of part of those burdens; but it is our earnest and unanimous desire that he continue to be the pastor of this church during the remainder of his natural life, with full responsibility and undiminished authority. The withdrawal of his resignation is the unanimous desire of the trustees. We feel that the church and society will be unable to sustain any different relations with our minister; that we must ask for the guidance and the beneficent influence of the remainder of that life, of which the larger part has been already spent for our advantage; that receiving not only from this city and this congregation, that love and reverence which should accompany such an old age, he will to the end, as our pastor, exemplify to us the worship of God in the beauty of holiness.

J. W. GILBERT.

ROBERT DONAHUE.

THOMAS HEDGE.

LUKE PALMER, JR.

THE MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION OF BURLINGTON: *Whereas*, The present closes the fiftieth year of Dr. William Salter's pastorate in the Congregational Church of Burlington, it is the pleasing duty of his brethren in the ministry to make acknowledgment of his eminent service in the ministry and his abiding influence upon the community. It is safe to say that Dr. Salter has held personal acquaintance with every minister, if not every priest, serving in the city during these fifty years. It goes without saying also that he probably knows personally more of our citizens than any other man in our midst.

Honored and beloved by all, it is a matter of gratitude to us who now are serving with him in the ministry to testify to the correctness of this universal praise.

W. H. TRAEGER,

P. B. HOLTGREVE,

S. C. BRONSON,

*Committee.*



PHILIP M. CRAPO: I should not know where to turn to another life so full of good works and sympathy.

SENATOR JOHN H. GEAR: Dr. Salter is to me a near and dear friend, as he is to every early settler in our town. He married me and my children and baptized them. Every person who has known him all these years knows how good he is, how unselfish and sympathetic. All through the fifty years of his pastorate he has been not only a beloved pastor in his church, but an honored citizen, endearing himself to all who came in contact with him.

ROBERT J. BURDETTE: Your letter finds me a restless comet among the clear shining stars that keep their orbits, and makes me wish that I had more control over my erratic movements. I have been a parishioner of Dr. Salter's nearly half of his glorious ministry in Iowa; ever since '72. One of the first hands stretched out to welcome me was Dr. Salter's. One of the pleasantest homes we loved to visit was the Congregational parsonage.

REV. L. F. BERRY, OTTUMWA: You simply began young and have kept young through the half century. I remember how impressed I was, the first time I sat in your study, by the thought that there in effect, if not in real fact, one man had wrought through a longer period than I had lived.

MRS. E. J. LANE, FREEPORT, ILLS: I can never forget the visits from time to time of my husband and myself to the charming home of Dr. Salter, and the warm, cordial welcome given us by him and his sweet, gentle wife of precious memory, who has since gone to rest.

ISAAC AND CHARLOTTE LEONARD, IONA, N. J.: Mrs. Leonard and myself have a distinct remembrance of your first sermon of fifty years ago, and were pleased with it.

RICHARD SALTER STORRS, BROOKLYN, N. Y.: You and I are not connected by blood, though my father's name and my grandfather's, as well as my own, came from Dr. Richard Salter, pastor of the church at Mansfield, a man of singular learning for his time, of excellent family, a benefactor of Yale College, though himself a graduate of Harvard. My greatgrandfather had been assisted in his education by Dr. Salter, and afterward received from him a considerable gift of books from his library. He, in affectionate honor to Dr. Salter, gave the name to his oldest son, my grandfather, from whom it has descended to me. But the relation between Rev. Dr. Salter and Rev. John Storrs was of friendship and affection only and did not involve kinship. I have always rejoiced, however, to see your name in connection with the many important movements

with which you have been identified, and especially in connection with the growth of the church in Burlington, and to have recalled to me the ancient tie of love between the Salters and Storrs. We have not met often in life here; I hope our mansions will not be far from each other in the greater and lovelier life beyond. With hearty congratulations and affectionate regard.

REV. JAMES L. HILL, SALEM, MASS.: It is coming to be a canon in the church: when you see a man who has held strongly the same pulpit for ten years, take off your hat to him. To this rule I offer this amendment: When you meet a clergyman who has been in the same pastorate fifty years, carry your hat in your hand. I want to join the ranks of those who honor you. I recall the Scripture, "Thine own friend and thy father's friend, forsake not." You have witnessed a good confession; your path has lain in the sun.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF A. C. HUTCHINSON: For full fifty years he has been the recipient of the warm affection of a loyal and devoted membership. As the city has enlarged, he has taken deep interest in every enterprise of a public character. He has seen the city grow from small beginnings, years before any railway connections with the outside world had been considered, to its present proportions with railroads diverging in every direction. He has seen the city gridironed with tracks for street-car traffic, making quick intercommunication with every part of it easy and comfortable by the unseen and incomprehensible power of that subtle fluid that no man dares touch and yet which is made submissive to our every wish.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF THOMAS HEDGE: I do not know my native place apart from the Reverend William Salter. The benignant presence, the clear-cut, resolute face of the young minister, was as real a part of the environment of my childhood as were the wooded hills or the shining rivers. As I said, books were few. We used to read the New Testament, and we unsophisticated children thought the words, "There was a man sent from God," described some such man as he. With the added experience of fifty years and acquaintance with many men, those of us still living know no better now.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF ROBERT DONAHUE: For forty years I have been an observer and an admirer of Dr. Salter and his work in this community. His pastorate has not been confined to this church and society. He has been the ideal pastor of this city and township. I venture the assertion that there was not a man, woman or child over ten years of age, between 1860 and 1870, in this township who did not personally know and revere him. On the fourth day of July, 1863, Grimes's Hall was crowded with citizens for a Fourth of July celebration. For more than two years, the war had been prose-

cuted with many discouragements. Many brave soldiers had given their lives; many more had been wounded, the odds were generally against the Union forces. In the midst of our celebration news came over the wires of the two great victories, at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. All over the loyal States the patriotic enthusiasm was at its height, and nowhere was it greater than in our city. The program was for a number of speakers, and consequently they were limited as to time. Among the number was our patriotic old pastor. When his name was called, his face shone; joy beamed on his countenance with the inspiring news, his whole being overflowed with fervor, and he made that day, I thought and have always thought since, the speech of his life. As I have said, there being many speakers, time was limited, and just as he had gotten fairly launched in his speech the chair rapped time. Immediately from all over that great audience came the call, "Go on," and inspired by the occasion he went on for thirty minutes in perhaps the most patriotic address ever delivered in Burlington. Dr. Salter has ever been known in this community as a modest, unobtrusive, quiet man, not interfering ordinarily in public matters, but when he did take part, when there was a principle at stake, there was no misunderstanding where he was to be found.

From a letter of Gov. ALBERT B. CUMMINS: I cannot allow the moment to go by without expressing to you my appreciation of the wonderful influence that you have exerted for the benefit of mankind. Your life covers the most important age in the history of the world. You have seen the mightiest nation on earth grow from obscurity to power. You have witnessed a complete revolution in commerce and industry.

These things are noteworthy, but they are not so vital as the lesson of your own life. I wish that what you have done and what you have said could be known to every boy and girl in our State.

I sincerely hope that you may be spared yet many years to bless the commonwealth of which you have been so helpful a citizen, and the church in which you have been so efficient a worker.

CHARLES ALDRICH, CURATOR STATE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT: It has long seemed to me that you are the most fortunate man I have ever known—standing among the highest in your sacred profession; beloved and honored by the people of this great State and by thousands throughout the country; one whose every acquaintance is a personal friend; the idol of affectionate children—and, possibly better than all else, inestimably blessed in your own splendid mental qualities and characteristics. Some old poet wrote:

"My mind to me a kingdom is;  
Such perfect joy therein I find  
As far exceeds all human bliss"

You can well say this of yourself. Your life has been so useful, and in so many directions. Your name is permanently connected with the history of our State. You will leave a nobler heritage than great wealth. It is among my most precious memories that I have known you so well, receiving from you such valuable aid in my work and such expression of abiding friendship. I am glad that you have lived thus long.

G. S. F. SAVAGE: I have long prized your friendship and the fellowship which I have been privileged to have with you from time to time since we were secretaries together at the meeting in 1854, which founded our beloved Chicago Theological Seminary. As pioneers in the ministry of these great commonwealths of Iowa and Illinois, we have had many experiences alike, in witnessing the marvelous developments in church and state which have taken place, and have had some part in planting churches and institutions which are to live and bless the world after we have passed away. I am especially grateful that I was privileged to come to this western field at an early day when foundations of future growth and prosperity were being laid. You preceded me four years, and have been greatly blessed in the work which you have done."

When Dr. Salter had attained his fourscore years, Rev. Robert L. Marsh, in an interview in the Hawk-Eye, paid him this homage:

If there is a single person within the realm of his acquaintance who has any other than a kind word to speak of him that person has yet to be heard from. This is the more remarkable since he is well known as a man of positive convictions and of great strength and tenacity of purpose. The high regard in which he is held can doubtless be attributed chiefly to two causes: First, his breadth of human sympathy, which has given him a catholicity of view, saved him from harsh judgment upon those who have differed from him, and enabled him to recognize the good in every form or creed and in every individual; second, his success is to be attributed to his tact and wisdom. He has known how to yield gracefully when it was impossible to have his way, and has felt as kindly when defeated as when successful.

Dr. Salter's perfect accuracy of memory and genius for details are matters of frequent comment by those who know him best. His word is final among them upon any question of history or date.



**BURLINGTON HAWK-EYE:** A fine compliment has been paid the Rev. William Salter by the Historical Department of Iowa. The original manuscript of his address in the State Historical Art Gallery, May 7, 1902, on the occasion of presenting Louis Mayer's portrait of the Honorable Francis Springer, president of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857, has been mounted in pages and bound in beautiful covers. The binding is red morocco, embossed in gilt, with ornamental corners in gilt and blue, with title inscription. The volume contains portraits and the autographs of Dr. Salter and Judge Springer, and a letter of the former of April 21, 1902, to Mr. Arthur Springer, of Wapello, accepting the invitation to deliver the address.

By no means the least attractive feature of the volume, in an artistic sense, is the beautiful manuscript itself. Dr. Salter's writing is almost like a copper plate etching, as clear and distinct as if engraved in relief work.

But however marked a feature is the doctor's penmanship, the subject-matter and his treatment of the theme, give the volume its historical value. Dr. Salter is a terse, vigorous writer; every sentence is replete with fact and sentiment pertinent to the theme. Few if any writers in Iowa have a finer diction. There is no surplusage of words, there are no "vain repetitions," and there is no striving for rhetorical effect in his public addresses. For a taste we quote a single sentence. "Today time rolls back the curtains, and we stand in the presence of those who reclaimed the wilderness, and turned the wild and inhospitable prairie, an Indian hunting-ground, the scene of many a savage contest, into cultured fields and smiling villages and happy homes." The volume of manuscript has been placed in the "Aldrich Collections" of manuscripts of prominent Iowans and eminent Americans—a collection in which the venerable curator, Hon. Charles Aldrich, takes a deep personal pride,—a pride shared by his fellow citizens because they recognize in it the splendid service he has rendered the State of Iowa and the broader field of American history and biography. It is, indeed, a beautiful service Mr. Aldrich has rendered the State and in all his years of enthusiastic endeavor he has had no warmer, more constant personal friend and co-laborer than William Salter, of Burlington.

#### CEREMONIES AT THE UNVEILING OF DR. SALTER'S PORTRAIT.

The portrait of Dr. Salter in the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines was unveiled on November 24, 1902. It is a painting in oil by Louis Mayer, the gift of the following Burlington people, friends of Dr. Salter: Mr. and Mrs.

Charles E. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Squires, Mr. and Mrs. William Carson, Mrs. H. C. Lasell, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Rand, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Higbee, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hedge, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Blythe and Mr. and Mrs. Philip M. Crapo.

The presentation was marked by simple but impressive exercises. The portrait was presented to the Historical Department of Iowa in the art room of the Historical Building. It was the gift of citizens of Burlington. The address of presentation was made by Hon. Frank Springer of Las Vegas, New Mexico, son of Judge Francis Springer, who was a close friend of Dr. Salter. Governor Cummins accepted the portrait on behalf of the State. Dr. A. L. Frisbie of Plymouth Congregational church, in Des Moines, presided.

FROM THE ADDRESS OF FRANK SPRINGER: It does not require the softening touch of time, nor the chastening hand of death, to round off the career of William Salter, so that we may justly characterize or fittingly commemorate it. His sixty years of citizenship of the State, marshaling for us their memories of a blameless life, come forward as witnesses, and we point to them as the reasons why we are here today. In the evening of a grand and useful life, when the shadows are beginning to lengthen, and while he looks with calmness upon the low descending sun, he is engaged in finishing in the vigor of an intellect which his eighty years have scarcely dimmed, and with all the enthusiasm of earlier days, a history of the State he has loved and honored so long. His life spent in the pursuit and practice of his sacred calling represents the history of Iowa. He was a part of it. He helped to make it, and he is better qualified to relate it for the benefit of those coming after than any man now living. These reflections come unbidden in the presence of these reminders of the men who made this splendid community. As for eulogy, it would be difficult to portray in words the deep and abiding affection which exists for this venerable man in the hearts of those to whom and to whose people he has ministered, in their joys and in their sorrows, for more than half a century. I speak not merely of those who were members of his own congregation. His influence and his good works were never confined to such narrow limits. He belonged to the people of Iowa. Wherever there were wounded hearts to heal, or darkened souls to be cheered by the light of hope; wherever the poor in spirit were to be comforted; wherever the friendless needed recognition or encouragement, there he was to be found. What their creed was

he never stopped to inquire. In war and in peace, to the camp and to the hearthstone, he has brought to grateful thousands of Iowa's best and noblest sons and daughters the consolations not only of religion but of charity not bounded by any church or creed, but broad as the precepts of his divine Master. There is scarcely a family in southeastern Iowa, among the pioneers who builded the State and their descendants, to whom, at some time and in some way, his words have not been a comfort and his presence a benediction.

Foremost in all good works; a friend of liberal education; a promoter of learning in its broadest sense; an outspoken champion of right principles wherever right and wrong joined issue; his example has been a blessing to his fellow men, and his life an honor to the State.

As a slight evidence of the affection and honor in which they hold him, the citizens of Burlington have caused to be executed a faithful portrait of Dr. Salter as he appears today. No eulogy that I could pronounce would be half so eloquent or significant as this testimonial, coming as it does from his fellow citizens who claim him as peculiarly their own. The donors of this picture have delegated to me the pleasing office of presenting it to the state. I esteem it a high privilege and an honor to be thus associated with them and in their company to feel myself, for the moment, a citizen of Iowa again.

And therefore, sir, on behalf of the people of Burlington and of the thousands of others who will be gratified by the event, I tender this portrait for your acceptance as the property of the State hoping that it may find a worthy place in the Pantheon of her great men.

Governor Cummins, in a brief address of acceptance, said the significance of the occasion was to be found not in what was said here, but in what was remembered and in the resolutions formed for a broader and better life and a higher and better citizenship. He referred to a statement recently made to him by Dr. Gunsaulus that it was accepted by all students that the people of Iowa combined more of the qualities of good citizenship than the people of any other State in the union. "Somebody gave us the impulse in the years gone by, that still keeps us true to the doctrines of good life, good morals, and good government. Who gave us this impulse? Dr. Salter and his associates of the formative period of the

State. I believe the men and women of this generation ought to be forever grateful for the instruction, the spirit that has come down to us from those former times. It is fitting that we should express in the manner we are today the gratitude that must fill every loyal heart."

Curator Aldrich, following Governor Cummins' remarks, read letters of regret, among which was one from Judge Walter I. Babb, who wrote: "He is one of the distinguished pioneers of Iowa, who has done much to give it the character and enviable position it holds today in the sisterhood of States, and it is certainly fit that his face and memory should thus be preserved."

Dr. Salter himself did not attend the exercises, largely out of feelings of delicacy. Dr. Frisbie said Burlington had never sent out a delegation on a better mission than it had the one present at these ceremonies, and that it was "a sweetly grateful thing" thus to do honor to Dr. Salter, their esteemed fellow citizen.

#### AT THE END.

THE CITY COUNCIL OF BURLINGTON (at a special meeting): It is ordered that a record be made of the general appreciation by our people of the successful life and high character of the late Rev. William Salter, D. D., who died in this city on the fifteenth day of August, aged eighty-eight years, after a residence in this community of more than sixty-three years. During this long period he has continuously taught good morals and sound principles, both by precept and example. This teaching immeasurably promoted the welfare of the community in which he dwelt, and its effects will be felt by coming generations. As a mark of respect to his memory it is further ordered that the city offices be closed at the time of his funeral.

JUDGE LUKE PALMER: He stamped his character upon this community and exalted its sense of honor and of justice. He did not neglect the humbler virtues. He was frugal without parsimony, hospitable without ostentation, modest without diffidence. His social and family life were ideal and his children honor his memory and are an honor to him. His life was a full one and was varied with a brief service in the United States army as chaplain during the Civil War.



THOMAS HEDGE: His capacity for work was marvelous. In his pursuit of learning he was unwearying as "the unwearied sun." Of tenacious memory his store of learning increased beyond our finding out. His story of the Territory of Iowa, finished on the day he became eighty years of age, is standard authority, as is his life of Governor Grimes and every other paper he ever published on an historical subject. Verily, this persistent mental activity and industry has its reward. "The sound mind" he so often spoke of was given him to the end. We are all witnesses that in these last days he was wont to give us the sum of the whole matter in his benediction.

His ways were ways of pleasantness. In all his intercourse formal or casual, he was the flower of courtesy. He was stately in his simplicity, easy in his dignity and "as the greatest only are," accessible and companionable. Of course all men loved him and at last named him "First."

It was a summer Sunday morning, there was a large congregation. During the prayer a restless child disturbed the quiet and was not only distressing its mother but distributing a wave of fretfulness over us all, when we heard the gentle voice of our minister, "We thank thee, Lord, that the voices of children may still be heard in thy temple." Immediately there was a great calm, a feeling of peace not unmingled with penitence took possession of us, and even the little child was still.

W. W. BALDWIN (for many years associate of Dr. Salter on the Board of Trustees of the Free Public Library): Dr. Salter was not only born into an atmosphere of goodness, but with the mind of a student, a great capacity for acquiring knowledge, a most retentive memory, and with habits of persistent industry. The cultivation of these native qualities developed the scholar, the preacher and the useful citizen.

The ambition of youth and the desire for doing good led him to enlist these really noble qualities and capabilities in the work of developing this western region, whose growth and prosperity since that day have been a constantly rising tide.

I think that he became passionately fond of the people of the West, as such, and was proud to be identified with them. When drawn into war, as they were by the necessity of preserving the Union he was with them heart and soul, and his attitude and appeals to patriotism were a great inspiration.

But his experience at the front, on the sanitary commission, during Sherman's bloody campaigns, effectually sickened him of war as a means of settling men's disputes, and he became ever afterwards a consistent advocate of peace and arbitration. He was a preacher of peace among men.

He wrote what is regarded as far and away the best history of Iowa prior to its admission into the Union, and his "Life of Grimes" is the best piece of biographical work which this state has thus far produced.

We cannot all devote our lives to study and scholarship, to teaching and preaching. Men must plow and sow; and gather into barns. Houses must be built, mills and factories must be operated, and the ships of commerce and the wheels of transportation must move or the constantly increasing millions will starve.

But how fortunate it is for the world that so many of those whose days are set apart to preach and advise and instruct have the mind that was in the friend we now so universally and sincerely mourn—the deeply religious mind, the patriotic mind, the sensible mind.

It is not for me to discuss his qualities as a minister of the Gospel, but he possessed two characteristics which especially impressed many—his sense of the fitness of things to say and of the place to say them, and the broad spirit of tolerance which was a part of everything that he said and did. These were conspicuous.

He always seemed to know how to say the right thing and never to say too much. He reflected before he spoke and always knew what he was going to say.

He unquestionably was a man greatly endeared to men of all classes and creeds—all parties and all occupations in this community where he lived so long.

One reason for this was the consistency of his life with his profession of what is the proper way to live. He taught piety and was himself pious; he taught patriotism and was himself patriotic; he enjoined frugality and lived the plain and simple life; he preached temperance and was abstemiously temperate; he advocated tolerance, and never sought to impose his particular form of belief upon any other man.

REV. NABOTH OSBORNE (successor to Dr. Salter as pastor of the Congregational church in Burlington): He would speak familiarly of having heard Henry Clay and Daniel Webster in his native city; he conducted a station on the underground railway before the war; he entertained Horace Bushnell, the New England theologian, when he was in Burlington; he introduced Emerson when that genial philosopher spoke first in Burlington; and he was one of those who welcomed Lincoln the only time he ever appeared in Burlington. He had in him the spirit of the pioneer. I cannot get over it that when I was born he had already been pastor of this church twenty-five years. Life for all of us is an investment. Some men crossed the Mississippi and invested their lives in commercial enterprise,

and this is good, for where there is no work men will not come to live. Such men build or make great cities with work for thousands of wage-earners. This great soul invested his influence in the intellectual, moral and spiritual life of a city.

DR. FRANK N. WHITE (formerly associated with Dr. Salter in the pastorate at Burlington): Prophet, priest, pastor, friend, man of letters, student, historian, citizen, and conspicuous in each capacity, only many men of many minds, varied vision and rich gifts of speech could begin to compass and express the significance of this monumental career. I mention first in order of time, though by no means of chief importance, his wonderful literary gift. What an adept he was in word-craft! What an unerring instinct for the apt and final word! What a poetic sense of fine distinction of color and tone values in language! What variety and freshness in the couching of thought, despite the drain and strain of two generations of public service in one place! He seemed dowered with an all but superhuman power of expression. His divination of the happy phrase suggested at times the swift insight of genius.

There is more here than mere art. In fact, in Dr. Salter's case it does not occur to one to think of art. There is something incongruous in mentioning his beauty of literary style in the same breath with art. If art there was, it was that rare kind of art that conceals art—his choice of word and phrase seemed so natural and spontaneous. You search in vain for an explanation so long as you stop short of the moral quality of it all. It rooted itself in enduring traits of character. His mind went straight to the inevitable word because his life moved in straight lines. Purity of style was born in whiteness of soul. Word-craft was no craft in either sense of that word of double meaning; it was the efflorescence of nature that put itself forth in beauty as the apple tree breaks into blossom in spring, as the sun and moon "rain out their beams" and as the rivers run down to the sea.

Another trait was guilelessness. For the final quality of which I wish to speak, I find myself at loss for the single word. In fact there is no single word to compass it. I am thinking of that quality or harmony of qualities that made him the superlatively imperial personality of the community for sixty-four years. He was not so much the representative man of the city as its creative and shaping spirit. The impress of his character was phenomenal and dominating.

I am thinking of his goodness. Almost involuntarily, so much of a habit had it become, the man on the street spoke of "Good Dr. Salter." It is a mighty thing in these days of the critical habit,

when suspicion is rife and cynicism holds high carnival, that one man should stand out a community's acknowledged, though uncrowned, king, with the title of "William the Good."

I am thinking of his poise, which is peace "played one octave higher." Who shall tell—as a single item in his varied ministry—the untold and untellable comfort he brought in more than six decades of service, as he prayed with the sick and dying, as he drew stricken hearts into comradeship with the Comforter and as he spoke tender words of appreciation and solace over the dead? He had the freedom of a thousand homes. Doors opened to his touch as they open to the sunshine, the breezes and the fragrance of June.

REV. B. F. MARTIN: Dr. Salter was interested in having a good, clean town and aggressive city. He was a father to the young men. People have said, "If I could only have lived the life of Dr. Salter." His life reached out like the roots of a great tree into the city, the State and the great Mississippi valley.

REV. CHARLES E. PERKINS, KEOSAUQUA: When a man lives a lifetime in one community his fame increasing as his years increase, and the love of him keeping even pace with the fame, it means that the popular judgment has made no mistake; means that the common verdict will undergo no reversal. I like to think of Dr. Salter as the scholar among his books. The pulpit, and particularly this pulpit, was his throne, but his library also was a place of power. And those sermons, judging from the considerable number which I have read, were no ordinary productions. Among other excellences, they had the fine quality of real literature. He was a purist in the use of words, never making a false choice. Had Dr. Salter not been a parish minister and an unmitigated bishop of his city, he might have figured and probably would have figured among the great historians. Nothing was lacking in his equipment.

REV. T. O. DOUGLASS, GRINNELL: The whole State, without distinction of denomination, claims Dr. Salter, and has honored him as one of her distinguished citizens. But in an especial manner he belongs to us of the Congregational household. Hundreds of his brethren in the ministry and thousands of the members of our churches, are with you in spirit to lay down their tributes of honor and love at the feet of this great and good man. To me one of the most impressive of Dr. Salter's characteristics was his cordiality.

Well do I remember the thrill of that first hand-shake over forty years ago as he welcomed me to the work in Iowa. The great Dr. Salter, so kind, so cordial, so hearty.



Beside the tribute of Dr. Douglass, whose life work has been the superintendency of Home Missions in Iowa, we have in a letter to the family the following expression from Rev. J. B. Clark, D. D., who down to old age served as secretary of the National Home Missionary Society, the organization that first sent Dr. Salter to the territory:

The death of Dr. William Salter will seem to all who knew and loved him well, more like a coronation. I have often quoted your father's life and toil of the Home Missionary pioneer. He has survived not only all members of the glorious Iowa Band, but most of his contemporaries in and out of the ministry. It was like your father to remember the Society in his will. We have always had joy in his gifts.

MR. JAMES HAGERTY: Dr. Salter denied the right of one man to own another human being when property in man was as legal and legitimate as speculation in land or dealing in property purchased by labor. He hated bigotry and intolerance at a time in which churches and convents were being destroyed and priests tarred and feathered, and the "Dutch and Irish" hunted as game by patriotic Americans. He lived to see the fullest tolerance accorded to differences of opinion and to work for complete equality before the law for all, irrespective of color, sex or condition.

MR. FRANK C. NORTON: The love and admiration of this beautiful character grew stronger with years until today there is no man I hold in higher esteem than I hold him, and in saying this I voice the sentiments of the entire Catholic population. Dr. Salter's relationship with the Catholic people of Burlington and close association with the pastors of St. Paul's church, have always been of the most friendly character. I recall many occasions hearing him speak from the same platform with Fathers Gunn, Lowrey and Mackin, always having in view the highest of all ideals, the elevation of mankind.

REV. E. H. WARING, OF OSKALOOSA: Believing it to be the duty of the American people to preserve the nation and to make it really free, he was a hearty supporter of the government in its efforts to subdue the Rebellion. I was a pastor in the city during the worst period of the bloody strife, and had frequent occasion to know of his fidelity and earnestness in the Union cause. And neither pen nor voice was held back from its support. One occasion that showed his spirit occurs to me now. One of the churches in the city, and a prominent one, was cursed at the time with a Copperhead preacher. There were then frequent occasions for public services in the interest of the Union, and the rule adopted by the ministers of the several churches of the city was that each

one should take charge of the service in order of seniority. But we had never been able to get this off-preacher to respond. At length the country was thrilled with the news of the surrender of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg. Arrangements were at once made for a fitting celebration of the victories in Burlington. A religious service was appointed at the Congregational church in the daytime, and an illumination and procession at night. The ministers, in making the arrangement for the day service, proceeded to select the principal speaker, and one of the loyal ministers was nominated. But to this I objected. I said that I thought this was the fitting time to make the suspected preacher show his hand, and I suggested that, though he was not present, he should be named with the understanding that, if he did not respond, Dr. Salter and others of us should fill the time. This was done, and when the hour arrived for the service, and a great crowd was gathered, to our surprise the preacher was on hand. I forget the text, but the scree he delivered was worse than anything in the Lamentations. He had nothing to say about the rebels or slavery, and less about the Union. The crimes of New York and other cities, and the general demoralization of the North was dwelt upon and the fearful devastation of the South by the national forces. It was the wettest of all the wet blankets ever thrown over an audience. All hung their heads; some retired. But when the discourse was ended, the preacher had hardly got away from the stand before Dr. Salter literally jumped to the front, and without any reference to what had been said, began a fervent, patriotic address such as he knew well how to make. He referred to the long and anxious wait for the taking of the western stronghold; to the effect that would follow the cutting of the Confederacy in two and the opening of the great river to free commerce and navigation; to the intense anxiety as to the results of Lee's invasion of the North, made more acute by the feeling that, in their practically defenseless condition, neither Philadelphia, Baltimore nor Washington was safe; while the uncertainty was increased by the appointment of a new and comparatively untried commander of the Union army on the eve of battle. He pictured the bravery of the men at the front and the certainty that, by a vigorous following up of these great achievements, the safety of the nation was secure. All through there was a succession of vociferous cheers; hats were thrown up in all parts of the room and men hugged each other for joy. No further speaking was needed and the audience was dismissed. And as one result the disloyal preacher resigned and a loyal man took his place. William Salter was a good, a great and a glorious man, one of those who shall be in "everlasting remembrance."

# THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

---

VOLUME NINE—THIRD SERIES

---

EDITED BY

EDGAR R. HARLAN

Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa; Member of the American Historical Association; Corresponding Member of the Minnesota Historical Society; Corresponding Member of the Nebraska State Historical Society; Corresponding Member Missouri State Historical Society; and one of the Founders of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

---

PUBLISHED BY THE  
HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA  
DES MOINES  
1909-1910





# INDEX

## VOLUME VI—THIRD SERIES

### PERSONS

- Abercrombie, Col. John C....616  
Adams, Sheriff .....144  
Adams, Charles Francis, Sr.214  
Adams, Derick .....289  
Adams, Dr. Ephraim...575, 576  
577, 595, 596, 603, 628.  
Adams, Mrs. Ephraim.....603  
Adams, Rev. Harvey...576, 596  
628.  
Adams, Henry P...287, 289, 295  
296.  
Adams, John .....561  
Adams, John Quincy...180, 272  
606.  
Addison, Joseph .....605  
Ainsworth, Mr. ....467  
Akerman, Mr. ....450  
Alden, Rev. Ebenezer...576, 584  
585, 589, 590, 598.  
Alderman, Mrs. Helen French  
514  
Alderman, Judson .....514  
Aldrich, Charles....62, 65, 66,  
67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 76, 81  
152, 154, 155, 159, 209, 213, 231  
232, 233, 255, 265, 313, 323, 329,  
385, 386, 402, 403, 404, 412, 415  
430, 554, 557, 574, 604, 633, 635  
638.  
Aldrich Mrs. Charles.....154  
Aldrich, Thomas Bailey.... 91  
Alexandra, Queen ..... 83  
Alger, Abner ..455, 475, 476, 477  
482.  
Alger, James B. ...455, 464, 475  
476, 477, 482.  
Alger, Joseph .....463  
Alger, Oliver .....455  
Allen, Col. ....342  
Allen, B. F. ....177  
Allen, Rev. Eugene .....551  
Allen, Capt. James .....100  
Allen, S. M. ....289  
Allison, Wm. Boyd..92, 93, 208  
211, 221, 275, 321, 331, 407, 410  
411, 419, 432, 435, 436, 616.  
Alvord, Clarence W. ....148, 149  
Ames, Bishop E. R. ....531  
Amherst, Gen. ....505, 506  
Anderson, Daniel .....407, 412  
Anderson, H. C. ....197  
Anderson, Horatio W. ..358, 359  
Anderson, Jeremiah .....260  
Anderson, Osborne .....372  
Angell, James B.....595  
Angle, H. C. ....407  
Anne, Queen .....380  
Anthony, William A..... 36  
Antony, Mark .....568  
Appleman, E. W. .... 40  
Appleseed, Johnny .....512  
Appleton, D. & Co. ....213, 247  
277.  
Armor, Dr. Samuel G ..... 6  
Arndt, G. G. ....275  
Arnold, Delos .....240  
Arnold, Dr. Thomas .....614  
Arthur, Chester Alan .....237  
Arthur, Joseph C. .... 39  
Atherton, George .....482  
Audubon, John James ..... 87  
Augustus, Emperor .....485  
Avery, Joel T. ....151  
Avery, Robert .....526, 527  
Avis, Capt. John .....365, 367  
Ayres, W. F. ....544  
Azpell, Dr. ....141  
Babb, Judge Walter I. ....638  
Babbitt, Lysander W. ..222, 223  
Bacon, Francis, Lord.....430  
Bacon, Washington A. ....324  
Badger, Dr. Milton .....617  
Bagg, S. ....417  
Bailey, Ansel Kinne.....318  
Bailey, Elijah .....318  
Bailey, Mrs. Eunice Kinne...318  
Bailey, Dr. Gideon ..... 52  
Bailey, Wesley .....318  
Bailey, William H. ....558  
Baker, Edward Dickinson...235  
236.  
Baker, M. ....418  
Baker, Gen. Nathaniel B.... 92  
400.

- Baldwin, Caleb .....398, 409  
 Baldwin, Charles ..515, 516, 546  
     548, 549.  
 Baldwin, Thomas B. .... 40  
 Baldwin, William W. ....46, 211  
     548, 549, 639.  
 Ballard, Thomas ..525, 526, 527  
 Balliet, Stephen F. ....553  
 Ballinger, R. H. ....412  
 Bancroft, George .....214, 572  
 Banks, Gen. Nathaniel P....272  
     337, 446.  
 Barfoot, Susan .....510  
 Barker, Henry H. ....546  
 Barley, Capt. Lewis.....364  
 Barrett, Richard C. .... 77  
 Barrett, William .....497  
 Barrows, Egbert S. ....6, 13  
 Bartley Mordecai .....53, 209  
 Barton, Dr. R. D. .... 7  
 Bastion, Rev. N. S.....524, 525,  
     526, 527, 528, 530.  
 Bates, Barnabas .....179  
 Bates, Judge Edward ...51, 52  
     56, 59, 62, 190, 191, 192, 193  
     194, 195, 197, 198, 204, 213, 214  
     215, 216, 244, 246, 266, 268, 273  
     274, 276, 438, 441, 443, 446.  
 Bates, N. S. ....181  
 Bayliss, N. ....544  
 Bayliss, Samuel .....163, 176  
 Beacon, Martha Jane ..... 23  
 Beaconsfield, Lord ..... 87  
 Beaman, David Crichton...521  
 Beard, Edgar L. .... 40  
 Beard, Hammond ..... 40  
 Beardsley, Charles .....329  
 Beaumont, Lillie ..... 27  
 Beauregard, Maj. Gen. P. G.  
     T. .... 93  
 Bebee, Mr. .... 95  
 Beck, Joseph M..... 12  
 Beckham, Fountaine .....370  
 Beecher, Rev. Henry Ward.. 92  
     563, 591.  
 Beers, Rev. ....299  
 Belvel, Henry M. ....400  
 Bell, John .....54, 59, 62, 204  
 Bell, Joshua F. .... 63  
 Bell, Capt. W. B. ....134  
 Bemis, George W. ....408  
 Bennet, Hiram P. (Bennett).174  
 Bennett, Mr. ....450, 479  
 Bennett, H. C. ....197  
 Bennett, James Gordon....194  
 Bentham, Jeremy ..119, 126, 127  
     128.  
 Benton, Col. Josiah H. ..13, 115  
 Benton, Thomas H.....81, 82  
 Benton, T. H., Jr....176, 409, 412  
 Berges, Henry Sr.....624  
 Berkeley, Bishop .....328  
 Bereman, A. H. ....412  
 Berry, Rev. L. F. ....631  
 Bessey, Charles Edwin..... 26  
 Beyer, Mrs. Mary Queal....493  
 Beyles, Joseph .....197  
 Bigelow, William H. ....544  
 Biles, D. S. ....278  
 Bills, John C. .... 13  
 Billson, Mr. ....109  
 Bishop, Catherine .....508  
 Bissell, Frederick E..... 12  
 Black Hawk ..151, 284, 521, 523  
     531, 574, 606, 608.  
 Black Hawk, young.....531  
 Blackford, J. E. ....418, 419, 433  
 Blackmore, Richard D..... 91  
 Blackstone, Sir William....126  
     127, 128.  
 Blague, John .....497  
 Blaine, James G. ..86, 92, 434  
     435.  
 Blair, David E. ...196, 197, 218  
     234, 235, 383.  
 Blair, Frank ..... 50  
 Blair, F. P. Sr. .... 50  
 Blair, Mrs. Margaret Job...384  
 Blair, Morris W. ..196, 234, 383  
 Blair, Mrs. Sarah Job....384  
 Blair, Thomas .....383  
 Blair, William .....383  
 Bliss, Lewis O. ....556  
 Bliss, P. P. ....626  
 Bloomer, E. ....418  
 Blucher, Gebhard L. von...583  
 Blythe, Mrs. Ellen H. (Green)  
     74  
 Blythe, Joseph William..74, 75  
     636.  
 Blythe, Mrs. J. W. ....636  
 Blythe, Joseph William, Sr.. 74  
 Boal, George J. .... 78  
 Boardman, Charles D. .... 40  
 Bodeman, C. W. ....275  
 Bodkin, Simon .....346  
 Boies, Gov. Horace.....318, 560  
 Boman, Mr. .... 97  
 Bonaparte, Napoleon ...561, 618  
 Bond, James A. C. ....116  
 Bonnell, Lydia .....495

- Bonner, Chappell .....549  
 Bonorden, H. F. .... 78  
 Boone, Major .....337, 339  
 Bostacke, Thomas .....494  
 Botts, John M.....50, 59, 62  
 Botts, L. ....368, 369, 370, 373  
 374.  
 Bousquet, Henry L. ....253  
 Boutwell, George S. ....428  
 Bowdoin, E. G. ....419, 433  
 Bowen, Jesse ....408, 413, 418  
 Bowen, T. M. ....410, 411, 412  
 Brackett, Albert G. .... 93  
 Brackett, John .....496  
 Bradford, Allen A. ....168  
 Bradford, Dr. Henry .....174  
 Bradley, Joseph P. ....116  
 Brainerd, N. H. ....329  
 Brandenburg, R. ....293  
 Brandt, David .....237  
 Brandt, Isaac ....237, 238, 554  
 Brandt, Mrs. Martha (Hamilton) .....237  
 Brannan, John .....394  
 Brannan, Mrs. Mary (McLeod) .....394  
 Brannan, William F....394, 395  
 Brayton, B. B. ....286  
 Bridgewater, Duke of....398  
 Bridgman, Arthur .....197  
 Briggs, Ansel .....150, 166  
 Briggs, J. S. ....150  
 Brigham, Johnson .....247  
 Brockway, Mary .....509  
 Brockway, Reed .....509  
 Broderick, David .....236  
 Brodie, Sir. Benj. C..... 85  
 Bronson, S. C. ....630  
 Bronte, Charlotte ..... 91  
 Brookbank J. W. .... 4  
 Brooks, Phillips ..... 92  
 Brown, A. F. ....416, 419, 432  
 433.  
 Brown, Judge Alexander ..515  
 520, 545, 550.  
 Brown, Ann .....362  
 Brown, Anna .....547  
 Brown, B. Gratz .....214  
 Brown, Charles E.....149  
 Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth.....382  
 Brown, Frederick .....360  
 Brown, Hugh .....546  
 Brown, Major Hugh G.... 547  
 Brown, J. F...281, 283, 407, 419  
 432.  
 Brown, James .....547  
 Brown, John ..217, 237, 259, 260  
 261, 266, 267, 269, 280, 281, 283  
 359, 379, 388, 401, 403, 413, 414  
 420, 440, 441.  
 Brown, John G.....547, 549  
 Brown, Mary .....382  
 Brown, Owen .....372  
 Brown, Mrs. Owen.....362  
 Brown, Samuel .....382  
 Brown, Sarah .....546  
 Brown, William D.....163, 171  
 Brown, William W.....392  
 Browning, M. D..... 12  
 Brush, Miss.....577  
 Brutus, Marcus Junius.....568  
 Bryan, P. Gad.....396, 397  
 Bryan, William Jennings...152  
 Bryant, William Cullen..91, 194  
 Buchanan, James ..59, 195, 261  
 280, 440, 545, 555.  
 Buchanan, Robert W..... 40  
 Buchanan, William Insko...399  
 Buck, Mr.....286, 300  
 Buell, Gen. Don Carlos.....138  
 Bunyan, John.....128  
 Burdette, Robert J..91, 618, 631  
 Burdick, M. B.....409  
 Burke, Finley.....399  
 Burnham, Charles.....583  
 Burns, Robert.....91, 546  
 Burrage, Hannah .....495  
 Burrage, John .....495  
 Burrows, J. M. D.....213  
 Burrows & Prettymen..... 11  
 Burt, Francis.....173  
 Burtch, Hiram.....165  
 Burtch, S. F.....179  
 Busby, Richard.....484  
 Bushnell, Horace...488, 613, 640  
 Butler, Benjamin..... 92  
 Butler, Jacob..265, 274, 278, 402  
 407, 408, 414, 416, 419, 422, 431  
 432, 433, 436, 441.  
 Butler, Bishop Joseph.....567  
 Byers, Mr.....293  
 Byers, Lawrence Marshall..316  
 317.  
 Byers, Major S. H. M..316, 626  
 627.  
 Byers, Mrs. S. H. M.....316  
 Byers, Serg. W. W.....346, 356  
 Byington, LeGrand..... 12  
 Caesar, Julius.....296, 618  
 Caldwell, Judge Henry Clay. 17  
 411, 412, 418, 419, 433, 434, 436  
 515, 548, 549.

- Caldwell, J. W. .... 407, 412, 419  
     432, 434.  
 Caldwell, W. E. .... 289  
 Calfee, W. M. .... 544  
 Calhoun, John C. .... 203, 561, 614  
 Calkins, Martin H. .... 316  
 Callaghan & Co. .... 119  
 Cameron, Simon .... 64, 190, 192  
     196, 197, 198, 199, 204, 205, 211  
     212, 213, 244, 267, 268, 270, 274  
     281, 282, 443, 446.  
 Campbell, Angus K. .... 212  
 Campbell, Frank T. .... 212, 408  
     412.  
 Campbell, Hugh J. .... 277, 278  
 Campbell, Sheriff James W. .... 367  
 Canisius, Dr. Theodore. .... 203  
 Cantwell, Col. James. .... 76  
 Carey, Isaac. .... 158  
 Carey, John. .... 158  
 Carleton, James P. .... 12  
 Carlisle, Daniel. .... 450, 452, 461  
     475, 476.  
 Carlisle, Thomas. .... 17, 89, 93  
 Carpenter, Cyrus C. .... 395  
 Carper, Major A. S. .... 554  
 Carroll, Beryl F. .... 152  
 Carskadden, Jerome. .... 278  
 Carson, George. .... 398, 399  
 Carson, William. .... 636  
 Carson, Mrs. William. .... 636  
 Carter, Jackson Hayward. .... 156  
 Cartwright, Rev. Barton H. .... 524  
     525.  
 Cartwright, D. G. .... 529  
 Casady, Jefferson P. (Cassidy)  
     167, 171.  
 Casady, Simon. .... 158  
 Casady, Simon, Jr. .... 520  
 Caskie, George E. .... 359  
 Cattell, Jonathan W. .... 408, 414  
 Caxton, William. .... 68  
 Cessna, Orange H. .... 39  
 Chamberlain, Belle. .... 510  
 Chamberlain, Dr. William B. .... 569  
 Chamberlain, William I. .... 320  
 Chambers, John. .... 92  
 Champney, Mary. .... 496  
 Champney, Richard. .... 496  
 Chandler, Abel. .... 289  
 Channing, Dr. William. .... 606  
 Chapline, J. A. .... 407  
 Chapman, Mr. .... 525  
 Chapman, John W. .... 179  
 Charles II. .... 484  
 Chase, Judge D. D. .... 78, 409, 416  
 Chase, Salmon P. .... 46, 50, 52  
     53, 57, 59, 92, 191, 192, 196  
     197, 198, 204, 210, 211, 212, 228  
     246, 274, 276, 282, 283, 443, 446  
 Chequest, "Jake West" .... 523  
 Child, Hannah. .... 498  
 Childs, John. .... 496  
 Chilgren, Mrs. G. A. .... 551  
 Chilton, Samuel. .... 375  
 Chipman, Col. N. P. .... 143, 144  
 Clapp, William. .... 454, 458, 470  
     479.  
 Clark, C. C. .... 563  
 Clark, E. .... 407  
 Clark, Elbert Warren. .... 393  
 Clark, E. W., Jr. .... 393  
 Clark, Frank. .... 156  
 Clark, Green T. .... 160  
 Clark, Rev. J. B. .... 643  
 Clark, M. .... 412  
 Clark, Dr. M. H. .... 174, 176  
 Clark, Rush. .... 297, 407, 408, 410  
 Clark, Rev. Samuel. .... 549  
 Clark, Samuel M. .... 548  
 Clark, William. .... 93, 147, 164  
 Clarke, Capt. .... 364  
 Clarke, Dr. Charles S. .... 280  
 Clarke, James. .... 92, 615  
 Clarke, R. L. B. .... 242, 244, 407  
     408, 413, 419, 432, 435.  
 Clarke, William Penn. .... 78, 212  
     213, 260, 402, 406, 408, 410, 411  
     412, 413, 414, 417, 422, 426, 432  
     433, 436, 440, 441.  
 Clarkson, Coker F. .... 414, 418, 431  
     432, 433, 435.  
 Clarkson, Ralph. .... 484  
 Clay, Cassius M. .... 191, 195  
 Clay, Henry. .... 63, 92, 236, 247  
     253, 326, 441, 561, 640.  
 Clemens, Samuel L., "Mark  
     Twain" .... 91  
 Clement, Jesse. .... 329  
 Cleveland, Grover. .... 300, 394, 399  
     586.  
 Clevenger, Mary. .... 510  
 Clingan, C. E. .... 40  
 Clingan, Eugene R. .... 40  
 Cloud, D. C. .... 278, 410, 414  
 Clough, John E. .... 618  
 Cobb, w. R. W. .... 261  
 Cock, Robert. .... 526, 527  
 Cocklin, L. B. .... 358  
 Coddling, Ichabod. .... 188  
 Coffin, Levi S. .... 404  
 Coggan, Abigail. .... 495



- Coggan, Henry.....495  
 Cole, Chester C..... 2  
 Cole, Gordon E.....110  
 Cole & Ebersole.....414  
 Coleman, Mrs. Ann..... 64  
 Collin, John.....494  
 Colt, James D.....116  
 Combs, Jonathan.....503  
 Comstock, A. N.....544  
 Conn, C. F.....412  
 Convers, Mary.....496  
 Cook, Mrs. Clarissa C..... 15  
 Cook, Ebenezer.....12, 13  
 Cook, John E.....368  
 Cook, John P....12, 13, 16, 171  
 172.  
 Cook & Dodge.....448  
 Cook & Sargent.....177  
 Cooley, D. N.....275  
 Copeland, Elijah.....558  
 Copeland, Howard Darlington  
 558.  
 Copeland, John.....368  
 Copeland, Percy .....558  
 Coppoc, Barclay ....260, 261, 368  
 414.  
 Coppoc, Edwin.....260  
 Corbin, Austin .....9, 13  
 Corkhill, George B.....412  
 Corse, Gen. John M....609, 625  
 626.  
 Corwin, Mrs..... 7  
 Corwin, Thomas.....196, 247  
 Cotton, Rowland.....587  
 Cotton, Samuel.....587  
 Cowan, Ephraim.....81, 82  
 Cowles, J. H.....174  
 Cowles, LaMonte.....562  
 Cowper, William..... 91  
 Cox, Samuel H.....605  
 Cox, Thomas...391, 392, 553, 615  
 Crabbe, George..... 92  
 Craig, Lt. Collin P.....547  
 Craig, James.....261  
 Craig, Dr. William.....547  
 Crane, Agnes..... 89  
 Crane, George.....221  
 Crapo, Philip M.....631, 636  
 Crapo, Mrs. Philip.....636  
 Crittenden, John J....54, 62, 63  
 64, 204, 247.  
 Crocker, Marcellus M....93, 155  
 Crosby, Joseph.....496  
 Crosby, Mary.....498  
 Cross, Mary A. E. "George  
 Eliot" ..... 91  
 Cross, William.....551  
 Crozier, Robert.....107  
 Culbertson, John.....289  
 Cumming, Gov. Thomas B. [F.  
 B.] .....173, 174, 175  
 Cumming, Charles A.....152  
 Cumming, Col. Henry J. B.. 79  
 Cummings, Elizabeth..... 502  
 Cummings, Mrs. Hannah  
 Kingsley .....500, 502  
 Cummings, John...498, 500, 503  
 Cummings, John, Jr....502, 503  
 Cummings, Jonathan.....503  
 Cummings, Nathaniel .....503  
 Cummings, Sarah .....496, 498  
 Cummins, Gov. Albert B....554  
 633, 636, 637, 638.  
 Currier, Amos Noyes.....239  
 Curtis, Rev. Dewitt C.....455  
 Curtis, George William..... 91  
 Curtis, Gen. Samuel R...93, 143  
 171, 176, 180, 183, 261, 277, 394  
 427.  
 Cutler, Elisha, Jr.....546  
 Dana, Charles A.....59, 214  
 Dana, Gen. N. J. T....338, 339  
*Daniels, Addison, Edwards,*  
*Jacob vs.* .....545  
 Daniels, S. S.....57, 58  
 Dante .....129  
 Darwin, Charles ..... 84  
 Darwin, Charles Ben...12, 275  
 410, 414.  
 Darwin, Francis ..... 88  
 Daugherty, J. F.....346  
 Davenport, Col. Braxton...367  
 Davenport, J. G.....262, 416  
 David, John S.....197  
 Davis, Andrew J.....394, 546  
 Davis, C. K. ....110  
 Davis, Grace P.....563  
 Davis, Jefferson ....45, 93, 189  
 260, 387.  
 Davis, Mrs. Jefferson..... 93  
 Davis, John P.....220  
 Davis, Levi.....11, 12  
 Davis, Timothy .....277  
 Davis, Thomas T.....289  
 Davis, William .....525  
 Davis, Winnie ..... 93  
 Davison, Abner..... 13  
 Davison, William.....458, 463  
 Dawkins, Boyd..... 91  
 Dawson, Mr.....464  
 Dawson, Jacob [Davidson]...167  
 168, 179.

- Dawson, N. E.....358  
 Dayton, William L.....197, 273  
 Dean, G. M.....409, 412  
 DeBow .....204  
 Deemer, Judge Horace E...152  
 161.  
 Defoe, Daniel.....380, 381, 384  
 DeFrees, John D...246, 247, 248  
 Delaplaine, J. M.....263  
 Dennis, Mr.....469  
 De Smet, Father.....165  
 Develby, Capt. John E....468  
 DeVere, Aubrey.....89  
 Devin, George.....39  
 Devin, David T.....39  
 Dey, Peter A..182, 211, 219, 286  
 295, 296, 297, 300, 301.  
 Dewey, L. ....412  
 Dickerman, Mr.....451  
 Dickinson, A. L.....448  
 Dickinson, S. N.....326  
 Dickinson, Rudolphus S....448  
 454, 460, 461, 465, 475, 477, 478  
 482.  
 Dickinson, Mrs. R. S...460, 464  
 469.  
 Dietz, Charles N.....39  
 Dillon, Mrs. Anna Price..15, 119  
 131, 133.  
 Dillon, Hiram P.....113, 114  
 Dillon, John F....1-18, 104-133  
 Dillon, Timothy .....11  
 Dixon, J. M.....209, 329  
 Dobson, Austin.....92  
 Dodd, Prof.....387  
 Dodge, Augustus Caesar..90, 93  
 166, 171, 172, 188, 190, 226, 616  
 Dodge, Gen. Grenville M..93, 180  
 181, 182, 184, 220, 224, 225, 392  
 435.  
 Dodge, Gen. Henry.....93  
 Dodge, Nathan P.....184  
 Dodge, Col. W. W.....90  
 Doland, John.....451  
 Donahue, Robert.....630, 632  
 Donnan, W. G.....410, 412  
 Doolittle, Amzi .....530  
 Doolittle, F. B.....409  
 Doolittle, J. R.....249  
 Dorr, J. B.....56, 203, 261  
 Douglas, Stephen A..45, 46, 50  
 58, 61, 170, 172, 181, 189, 195  
 202, 203, 218 221, 224, 225, 226  
 234, 236, 249, 282, 423.  
 Douglass, Frederick.....92, 361  
 362.  
 Douglass, Rev. T. O. Sr....596  
 642.  
 Dow, S. C.....13  
 Downer, Harry E.....444  
 Drake, Francis M.....80  
 Drake, Mrs. L. H.....624  
 Drake, W. C.....412  
 Dred Scott.....51, 64, 189, 203  
 Drennon, J. G.....220  
 Drummond, Thomas....61, 203  
 209, 243, 265, 269, 329, 407, 412  
 416, 417, 419, 420, 421, 442  
 Drummond, Willis .....329  
 Drury, J. Wilson.....12, 13  
 Duckworth, Capt. W. A.....337  
 Duffield, George C..48, 213, 303  
 Dungan, D. R.....404  
 Dungan, J. Irvine.....338, 358  
 Dunham, Clark..51, 52, 60 61  
 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 197, 199  
 209, 251, 265, 273, 274, 276, 329  
 444.  
 Dunker, Nathaniel.....495  
 Dunklin, Mary.....498  
 Dunklin, Nathaniel.....496  
 Dunn, Ale.....462  
 Dunning, Dr. Albert E.....594  
 Dunraven, Lord.....87  
 Durham, B. H.....156  
 Durham, C.....156  
 Durham, Jesse B.....156  
 Durham, John.....156  
 Durham, Louise.....156  
 Durham, Mary .....156  
 Durham, Col. Samuel W....156  
 Dustin, Mrs. Hannah.....500  
 Dutton, Charles, Jr....449, 455  
 464, 479.  
 Dutton, Charles, Sr....449, 450  
 Dutton, Claude W.....450  
 Dutton, H. G.....479  
 Dutton, Jerome.....447-483  
 Dutton, John.....449  
 Dutton, LeRoy....447, 449, 450  
 455, 465, 479, 483.  
 Dutton, Lorenzo D....447, 448  
 449, 450, 455, 461, 462, 463, 464  
 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481  
 483.  
 Dutton, Mrs. Nancy Pearsall.449  
 Dutton, William.....449  
 Dutton, Wilmet .....479  
 Dyer, Thomas .....289  
 Dyke, Rowell .....329  
 Eastman, Enoch W.....408, 422  
 Eddy, Rev. Zechariah.....617

- Edgerton, Owen.....544  
 Edmundson, James Depew..146  
 Edmundson, William.....146  
 Edward VII.....83  
 Edwards, Bela B.....607  
*Edward, Jacob vs. Daniels,*  
*Addison* .....545  
 Edwards, James G...580, 581, 607  
 Edwards, John....187, 188, 189  
 190, 209, 402, 408, 410, 413.  
 Edwards, Jonathan.....614  
 Edworthy, Mrs. Anna Mc-  
 Pherson .....158  
 Eiboeck, Joseph....194, 195, 215  
 216, 430.  
 Eichelberger, Frank W.....142  
 Elbert, J. D.....4, 7  
 Elbert, Samuel.....179, 548  
 Elder, Lydia .....511  
 Eldon, John Scott, Earl of..126  
 Ellis, Capt. Albert.....384  
 Ellis, Mrs. Hannah Job....384  
 Ellis, Harvey .....384  
 Ellis, James W.....150  
 Ellis, Job .....384  
 Ellis, Robert .....495  
 Ellis, Thomas .....384  
 Ellison, J. J. ....4  
 Ells, George W.....275  
 Ellsworth, Alfred M.....372  
 Emerson, Rev. Oliver...571, 583  
 586.  
 Emerson, Oliver F.....66  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo..93, 640  
 Emmert, Mrs. Anna G (Funk)  
 319  
 Emmert, Dr. J. M.....319  
 Emmert, Joshua.....319  
 Ennis, J. E.....293  
 Entwistle, Edward.....398  
 Ericsson, John.....82, 83  
 Estes, J. L....286, 293, 294, 299  
 Estes, L. L.....159  
 Evans, Francis W.....79  
 Evans, Dr. J. E.....4  
 Evans, John A.....159  
 Evans, Polly.....159  
 Evans, Simeon.....159  
 Evarts, William Maxwell...434  
 Ewers, Prof. A. F.....298, 301  
 Fairall, H. S.....78  
 Fairall, Samuel Husband....78  
 Fairman, John.....546  
 Farnam, Henry.....259  
 Farnsworth, Dr. P. J...298, 301  
 Farwell, Henry.....503  
 Farwell, Maj. Sewell S....319  
 Faulkner, C. J.....368  
 Faville, Oran.....408, 409, 412  
 Fawkes, Mrs. P. S.....159  
 Feay, S. A.....159  
 Fee, Thomas Milton.....555  
 Ferguson, J.....412  
 Ferris, Philo .....508  
 Fessenden, Gen. W. P...281, 446  
 Fillmore, Millard...59, 60, 194  
 195, 213, 214.  
 Finkbine, Robert .....94  
 Finch & Crocker.....23  
 Findley, William McK.....412  
 Fish, Hamilton .....434  
 Fitz, William Henry, see Gur-  
 ley, W. H. F.  
 Flandrau, Charles E.....108  
 Fleming, W. H.....396, 397  
 Fletcher, James .....496  
 Flint, James.....4  
 Folsom, Gillman.....12  
 Foote, Prof. Albert E....27, 34  
 Foote, Harriet.....608  
 Foote, John G.....197, 234, 608  
 Foote, Mark.....608  
 Forbes, Robert.....339, 340  
 Ford, E. R.....4  
 Ford, Henry.....515, 516  
 Forney, John W.....204, 283  
 Forrest, John.....10  
 Fortney, Adam.....526  
 Foster, Charles....275, 412, 416  
 Foster, J. P.....544  
 Foster, Luther.....39  
 Foster, Suel....26, 27, 278, 407  
 414.  
 Foster, T. G.....612, 613  
 Fountain, E. G.....4, 7  
 Fox, Charles T.....493  
 Francis, Dr. Alexander....598  
 Francis, Daniel.....160  
 Franklin, Benjamin..81, 609, 614  
 Frederick the Great.....363  
 Freeman, Edward H.....92  
 Frelinghuysen, Frederick T..434  
 Frelinghuysen, Theodore ...606  
 Fremont, John C...50, 53, 59, 164  
 180, 192, 197, 204, 268, 270.  
 French, Aaron .....504  
 French, Abigail .....496  
 French, Alice .....498  
 French, Alva C.....511, 514  
 French, Mrs. Anne.....494  
 French, Bayard T.....514  
 French, Mrs. Belle.....514

- French, Benjamin .....502  
 French, Mrs. Bridget.....493  
 French, Calvin Day.....511, 514  
 French, Chancy .....508  
 French, Chauncey .....514  
 French, Charlotte .....505  
 French, Cidney Ellen.....514  
 French, Clarisa .....504  
 French, Clement .....504, 505  
 French, Daniel .....504  
 French, David .....502, 504  
 French, Ebenezer ..498, 499, 500  
     501, 502.  
 French, Edward .....494  
 French, Eleazer .....501  
 French, Elizabeth ....494, 495,  
     498, 502, 510, 511 514.  
 French, Francis .....494, 495  
 French, Hannah ..495, 496, 497  
 French, Harriet .....508  
 French, Hiram .....508  
 French, Jacob .....495, 496  
 French, James Thomas ...510  
     511, 512.  
 French, Jerrymya .....494  
 French, John ....493, 494, 495  
     496, 498, 499, 501, 503.  
 French, John Seaward ....510  
 French, Jonas .....501  
 French, Jonathan ..498, 501, 504  
 French, Joseph ....498, 502, 503  
     504, 508, 510.  
 French, Josiah .....502, 504  
 French, Dr. L. H.....514  
 French, Mrs. Libbie.....514  
 French, Lucy .....505  
 French, Lucy Oletha....510, 511  
 French, Lusannah .....506, 508  
 French, Mary ....494, 495, 496  
     497, 498, 510, 512.  
 French, Maryetta .....508  
 French, Martin .....510, 514  
 French, Marvin .....511  
 French, Nancy .....508  
 French, Nathaniel .....13  
 French, Oscar L. R....510, 514  
 French, Polly ....508, 509, 510  
 French, Richard .....498  
 French, Robert .....494  
 French, Gen. S. G.....626  
 French, S. H.....505  
 French, Sampson ..502, 504, 505  
     508, 510.  
 French, Samson ...506, 508, 510  
     511, 513, 514.  
 French, Samson D.....514  
 French, Samuel ...496, 498, 499  
     500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 508, 510  
 French, Sarah ....496, 497, 498  
     500, 502, 504.  
 French, Mrs. Seward.....504  
 French, Simeon .....495  
 French, Stephen Henry.....510  
 French, Submit .....504  
 French, Thomas ..309, 493, 494  
     498, 502, 504, 505, 508, 509, 510  
 French, William ..494, 495, 498  
     499, 501, 502, 504, 508, 510.  
 French, William L.....501  
 Frisbie, Dr. Alfred L....636, 638  
 Frost, Todd & Co.....538  
 Fry, William.....451  
 Frye, Sherry E.....147  
 Fuller, Olive Freeman.....334  
 Fulton, Robert .....605  
 Furry, Mark Joseph.....318  
 Furry, Joseph .....318  
 Furry, Mrs. Sarah (Stan-  
     cliffe) .....318  
 Gaines, R.....407  
 Garfield, James A.....435  
 Garrison, E. A.....237  
 Garrison, William Lloyd...91  
 Gawney, Nessa.....503  
 Gaylord, Rev. Reuben...166, 571  
     583.  
 Gear, John H.....159, 615, 631  
 Gear, Mrs. John H.....234, 608  
     616.  
 Geddes, Col. James L...35, 135  
 Gee, Solomon.....450  
 George III.....505  
 George, Thomas, Jr.....325  
 Gibbon, Edward.....34, 113  
 Gibbon, Mrs.....111  
 Gibson, John Bannister.....110  
 Giddens, Joseph R.....370  
 Giddings, Joshua R.....92  
 Giddings, Napoleon B.....174  
 Gilbert, John W.....629, 630  
 Gills, James B.....372  
 Given, Walker.....227  
 Gladstone, William E.....87  
 Gochenour, John.....450  
 Goddard, Edwin.....94  
 Goggin, William L.....63  
 Goode, G. Brown.....535  
 Goodfellow, H. C.....515  
 Goodrell, S.....408  
 Goodwin, B. F.....358  
 Gordon, Mr.....461  
 Gordon, Charles George...88, 89



- Gordon, Henry Evarts.....397  
 Gould, Jay .....118  
 Gould, John.....87, 88  
 Gower, Robert .....281, 297  
 Gower, James H.....289  
 Grant, Judge James..12, 13, 117  
   539.  
 Grant, P. H.....358  
 Grant, Ulysses S....9, 16, 84  
   92, 93, 142, 318, 319, 320, 434  
   516, 555, 561.  
 Graves, J. K.....416  
 Gray, Asa .....26  
 Gray, John H.....409  
 Greeley, Horace ....46, 47, 48  
   49, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 194  
   202, 205, 213, 214, 271, 326, 333  
   415.  
 Green, Mr.....346, 347  
 Green, A. D.....608  
 Green, Lieut. J.....364  
 Green, Shields....362, 363, 368  
 Green, Gen. Thos.....337, 338  
 Green, Thomas C..368, 370, 373  
   374.  
 Green, William .....378  
 Greene, George.....152, 176  
 Greene, Wesley.....40  
 Greer, William.....358  
 Gregory, Louis.....452  
 Gregg, Thomas.....521  
 Grey, Col. Henry.....338  
 Griffey, William.....197  
 Griffith, Hannah A.....382  
 Griffith, Joseph M.....520  
 Grimes, James W...12, 93, 180  
   196, 197, 211, 218, 234, 235, 236  
   251, 254, 255, 263, 271, 280, 281  
   285, 411, 425, 427, 436, 569, 573  
   584, 608, 615, 616, 639, 640.  
 Grimes, Mrs. James W..271, 280  
   616.  
 Grinnell, Josiah B..66, 259, 260  
   294, 393, 402, 407, 409, 410, 413  
   414, 415, 416, 417, 419, 431, 432  
   433, 435, 440, 441.  
 Griswold, Hiram.....375  
 Grow, Galusha A....54, 204, 282  
 Gue, B. F. ....275, 278, 301  
   329, 407, 408, 414, 415, 417, 421  
 Guernsey, Nathaniel T.....558  
 Guest, Lieut. Col.....340  
 Gunn, Father.....643  
 Gunsaulus, Dr. Frank W....637  
 Gurley, Hugh (See Gurley, W.  
   H. F.)  
 Gurley, William Henry Fitz-  
   hugh .....275, 411, 539  
 Gurowski, Count Adam.....214  
 Gutenberg, Johannes.....68  
 Guylpyn, de.....22  
 Hadden, Deacon.....589  
 Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich....92  
 Hagans, J. C.....409  
 Hagar, Levi.....525, 527  
 Hagarty, J.....293  
 Hagerty, James.....643  
 Hagerty, Thomas D.....40  
 Haines, Josiah.....4, 7  
 Hale, E.....452  
 Hale, Eugene.....436  
 Hale, E. E.....214  
 Hale, John P.....53, 204  
 Hale, Sir Matthew.....107  
 Hall, Augustus.....179  
 Hall, Benton J.....539  
 Hall, J. C.....12  
 Hall, James.....546  
 Hall, L. S.....358  
 Hall, Prescott.....606  
 Hall, William Spencer.....157  
 Hamilton, Alexander.....116  
 Hamilton, Landon..301, 305, 308  
   309.  
 Hamilton, Judge W. T.....275  
 Hamilton, W. W...407, 408, 416  
   552.  
 Hamlin, C. S.....428  
 Hamlin, Hannibal.....428  
 Hammond, James.....45  
 Hammond, William A.....93  
 Hammond, William B..583, 589  
 Hancock, Winfield S.....394  
 Hannibal .....618  
 Hanscomb, A. J.....179  
 Harbert, Albert Newton.....19  
 Hardin, John J.....236  
 Harding, Charles.....367, 375  
 Hare, M. H.....531  
 Hargus, Mr.....178  
 Harl, Charles M.....398, 399  
 Harl, Ed .....398  
 Harl, John W.....398  
 Harlakenden, Mr.....494  
 Harlan, Edgar R....95, 227, 233  
   551, 574, 604.  
 Harlan, James ....93, 181, 183  
   246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 261, 262  
   263, 264, 265, 279, 280, 281, 282  
   283, 331, 411, 420, 426, 427.  
 Harper, William.....159

- Harrison, Benjamin....384, 434  
488.
- Harrison, Lt. Col. James E..338  
339.
- Harrison, Thomas W.....560
- Harrison, Gen. William Henry  
11, 93, 238, 322
- Hart, Henry.....450, 454
- Hart, John.....450
- Harvey, Francis L.....39
- Harvey, Dr. Philip.....4, 569
- Hastings, D. C.....412
- Hastings, S. Clinton.....12
- Hatch, O. M.....222
- Hathaway, Hiram D.....168
- Haun, William G.....289
- Hawkins, Allen M.....40
- Hawks, Elizabeth.....504
- Hawley, George A..402, 409, 416  
418, 433.
- Hayden, Ferdinand V.....554
- Hayes, L. M.....390
- Hayes, Rutherford B....93, 277  
395.
- Hazen, Henry A.....496
- Hazen, Gen. William B.....93
- Hazlett, Albert.....368
- Healy, Thomas D.....75, 76
- Healy, George P. A.....152
- Hebard, Alfred.....608
- Hebard, Mrs. Alfred.....608
- Hedge, Thomas....608, 630, 632  
636, 639.
- Hedge, Mrs. Thomas.....636
- Hedge & Blythe.....74
- Heildreich, Richard.....322
- Heffleman, Henry.....546
- Helper, Hinton R..252, 266, 270  
277, 278, 280.
- Hemans, Mrs. Felicia.....91
- Hempstead, Stephen....12, 285
- Henderson, H. C.....409
- Henderson, Loran R.....240
- Henderson, P. P.....409, 412
- Henderson, Skinner vs.*.....116
- Hendricks, Thomas A.....394
- Hendrie, C. F.....197
- Henn, Bernhart...171, 172, 176
- Henn, Williams & Co.....176
- Hennessey, Archbishop....319
- Henry, Dr. G. R.....4, 7
- Henry II.....88
- Hepburn, William P....402, 410  
412, 419, 432, 434, 435.
- Hepner, George.....166, 171
- Herndon, William Henry....188  
220, 227.
- Herriott, Frank I...45, 66, 86  
186, 196, 236, 241, 391, 392, 401  
545.
- Herron, Gen. Francis...337, 338
- Hershey, J. H.....4
- Hewes, William.....325
- Higbee, G. H.....636
- Higbee, Mrs. G. H.....636
- Hildreth, Azro B. F....49, 50  
52, 192, 209, 212, 250, 266, 267  
270, 271, 321, 336.
- Hildreth, Daniel.....322
- Hildreth, Mrs. Liveria.....334
- Hildreth, Mary.....334
- Hill, Frederick Trevor....219
- Hill, Dr. Gershom H.....393
- Hill, Rev. James J....576, 579
- Hill, Rev. James L....561, 588  
632.
- Hill, Josiah F....447, 448, 450  
461, 463, 469, 475, 476, 477, 482
- Hillis, D. B.....412
- Himes, George H.....244
- Hinchman, Lieut. Thomas W.455
- Hinkle, Capt. Abram.....151
- Hinkle, Arthur ....151, 521, 522
- Hinkle, Harry.....151
- Hinkle, Lora .....151
- Hinkle, Moe .....151
- Hiscock, Polly.....508
- Hitchcock, Rev. Allen B.583, 586
- Hoag, Amos.....414, 416
- Hoar, G. F.....437
- Hobaugh, J. K.....544
- Hodges (Stephen & William)  
530
- Hoffman, Ogden.....606
- Hoffmeister, A. W.....140
- Hogg, James.....91
- Holbrook, C. H.....286
- Holbrook, Rev. John C..571, 579  
583, 615.
- Holladay, J. M.....544
- Holland, Lady.....84, 85, 86
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell....561  
578.
- Holmes, Robert .....199, 227
- Holtgreve, P. B.....630
- Hood, Lieut-Gen. John B....93
- Hooker, Rev.....495
- Hooker, Sir Joseph.....91
- Hopkins, Dr. Asa T.....577
- Hopkins, John F.....157
- Hopkins, Robert.....157

- Horace ..... 84  
Hoskins, J. C. C.....239  
Hoskins, Omer.....358  
Houghton, Jonas.....588  
Houston, John.....451  
Howard, George W.....412  
Howard, Gen. O. O.....616  
Howe, Mr.....7, 8  
Howell, H. Scott.....540  
Howell, James B....56, 64, 193  
    194, 199, 200, 203, 205, 209, 216  
    243, 245, 262, 263, 265, 271, 272  
    276, 329, 546.  
Howes, Samuel.....492  
Hoyt, George Henry...372, 373  
    374.  
Hoxie, H. M...242, 244, 419, 432  
    434, 539.  
Hubbard, Judge Asahel..331, 410  
    416, 418, 419, 432, 435.  
Hubbell, George E.....13  
Hudson, Mr.....452  
Hugel, Benedict.....416  
Hughes, Felix T.....548  
Hughes, J. C.....4, 7  
Hugins, H. T.....197  
Humphrey, Richard.....546  
Hungerford, Edgar M.....39  
Hunt, David.....414  
Hunt, Henry J.....93  
Hunt, Washington.....192  
Hunter, Mr.....469  
Hunter, Andrew....367, 370, 372  
    373.  
Hunter, William.....286, 293  
Huntington, Ida M.....233  
*Hurd vs. Railroad Bridge*  
*Co.*.....219  
Hurlburt, Rev. Rollo F.....484  
Hussey, Tacitus.....301  
Hutchins, Stilson.....440  
Hutchinson, A. C.....570, 632  
Hutchinson, Rev. Horace...576  
    577, 579, 589, 595.  
Hutchison, Joseph G.....559  
Huxley, Thomas H.....91  
Hyde, Orson.....167  
Ingalls, Mrs. Foster....77, 151  
Ingersoll, L. D. "Linkensale".329  
    415.  
Ireland, Mary E.....382  
Irish, Charles.....298  
Irish, C. W....286, 292, 293, 299  
    300.  
Irish, Gilbert R.....297, 301  
Irish, Jan. T.....301  
Jack, John.....544  
Jackson, Andrew...151, 277, 395  
    521, 522, 606.  
Jackson, Frank D...40, 554, 558  
Jackson, Helen Hunt.....91  
Jackson, J. A.....176  
Jamin, E.....24  
Janis, Bishop E. S.....531  
Jeffers, Joseph.....197  
Jefferson, Thomas..129, 203, 561  
    568, 592.  
Jenkins, George F.....5  
Jenkins, J. W....407, 409, 412  
Jennings, John H.....160  
Jennison, H. Q.....585  
Jerome, G. H..243, 244, 248, 249  
    262, 265, 404, 413, 423, 428, 429  
Job, Andrew.....381  
Job, Archibald.....382, 383  
Job, Daniel.....382  
Job, Mrs. Elizabeth Maxwell.382  
    383, 384.  
Job, Haines.....382  
Job, Hannah.....382  
Job, Margaret.....383  
Job, Morris.....383  
Job, Sarah.....383  
Job, Thomas..381, 382, 383, 384  
Johns, John...403, 404, 405, 422  
    423, 428.  
Johnson, Mr.....172  
Johnson, Andrew...91, 93, 179  
    435.  
Johnson, Anthony C.....358  
Johnson, George.....509  
Johnson, Hadley D....167, 168  
    171, 172, 174.  
Johnson, Joseph E.....167  
Johnson, Martin Nelson....395  
    396.  
Johnson, Mrs. Robert.....80  
Johnston, Benjamin...546, 547  
Johnston, James.....546  
Johnston, John.....450, 451  
Johnston, Gen. Joseph.....93  
Joline, Adrian H.....153  
Jones,.....351, 352  
Jones, Alfred D.....166  
Jones, Prof. George W...27, 29  
    34.  
Jones, George W...93, 171, 172  
    616.  
Jones, Lewis.....544  
Jones, Libbie.....511  
Jones, W. C.....168  
Jones, Wesley.....197

- Jordan, Mrs. H. C.....551  
 Jordan, J. C.....544  
 Jordan, Capt. James H..151, 521  
     522.  
 Joseph (Indian).....503  
 Jourdan, Capt.....339  
 Joy, J. F.....221  
 Judd, Norman P...219, 220, 222  
     224, 246, 249.  
 Junkin, William W.....209, 265  
 Kagi, J. H.....362, 371, 372  
 Kent, Immanuel.....125  
 Kasson, John A....89, 92, 214  
     215, 226, 227, 242, 244, 250, 265  
     401, 402, 410, 415, 417, 418, 423  
     426, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435  
     436, 440, 557.  
 Keech, Cidney Ellen.....510  
 Kelly, Joseph.....327, 328  
 Kelsey, F. M.....412  
 Kempton, William.....174  
 Kennerly, Mr.....538  
 Kent, David A.....40  
 Kent, James.....110, 119, 128  
 Keokuk .....522, 523, 606  
 Kiesel, George W.....40  
 Kilbourne, D. W.....274  
 Kilgore, R. M.....136  
 King, Lucy.....488  
 King, William Fletcher..484-492  
 Kinkoad, Lemuel.....80  
 Kinnard, Thomas M.....372  
 Kinne, LaVega G.....151, 152  
 Kinnersly, James.....546  
 Kirby, J. W.....478  
 Kirkwood, Samuel J....92, 93  
     142, 145, 188, 189, 190, 208, 211  
     222, 225, 238, 254, 255, 256, 260  
     261, 263, 280, 297, 330, 425, 427  
     515, 556.  
 Kittredge, Jacob.....495  
 Kittredge, John.....495  
 Kittredge, Mrs. Mary L....495  
 Kittredge, Simeon.....495  
 Knapp, Joseph C....12, 515, 516  
     548, 549.  
 Knapp, Mrs. Joseph C.....549  
 Kneeland, Abner....69, 574, 596  
 Knight, Mr.....334  
 Knight, Widow.....462, 478  
 Knight, Liveria Aurette....334  
 Knollys, Baron Francis.....83  
 Knox, J. H.....440  
 Knox, Joseph.....12, 13  
 Knutsford, Baroness.....84  
 Koerner, Gustave .....431  
 Kresinger, Mrs. Katherine  
     French .....514  
 Lacey, J. F.....147, 152, 310  
 Lafayette, Marquis de..383, 561  
 Lambert, Mr.....451  
 Lamon, Ward H.....227  
 Landor, Walter Savage.....113  
 Lane, Dr.....7  
 Lane, Rev. Daniel..548, 576, 577  
     579, 597, 628.  
 Lane, Mrs. E. J.....631  
 Lane, James T.....13  
 Langworthy, Lucius H.....213  
 Larrabee, William...92, 409, 415  
 Lasell, Mrs. H. C.....636  
 Latham, J. M.....179  
 Lathrop, Thomas.....496  
 Leake, Col. J. B.....337, 338  
 Leavenworth, Gen. Henry..180  
 Lee, Judge.....295  
 Lee, Edwin.....508  
 Lee, John S.....40  
 Lee, Nathaniel.....504  
 Lee, Gen. Robert E..93, 142, 364  
     644.  
 Leffingwell, William E.....12  
 Leighton, William .....274  
 Lenehan, Monsignore B. C..319  
 Leonard, Abner.....608  
 Leonard, Mrs. Charlotte....631  
 Leonard, David .....608  
 Leonard, Isaac .....608, 631  
 Lesslie, Charles.....11  
 Letcher, Gov. John.260, 261, 414  
 Lett, Abraham.....450  
 Lewis, Meriwether..93, 147, 164  
     165.  
 Libby, Orin G.....149  
 Limpus, D.....544  
 Lincoln, Abraham...45, 62, 84  
     92, 93, 128, 181, 182, 183, 186  
     227, 228, 234, 235, 236, 240, 244  
     246, 249, 250, 255, 276, 278, 280  
     282, 283, 389, 390, 391, 393, 410  
     411, 423, 434, 443, 446, 539, 540  
     554, 557, 559, 563, 567, 608, 609  
     640.  
 Lincoln, Robert T..128, 182, 227  
     247.  
 Lincoln, Mrs. Robert T.....247  
 Lincoln, Thomas "Tad"....182  
 Lescher, Henry L..275, 416, 421  
 Little, Brown & Co.....119  
 Little, J. J. & Co.....24  
 Littlefield, Francis.....495  
 Livingstone, David.....582



- Locke, Mattie..... 39  
 Lockwood, A. W.....166  
 Lodge, John Cabot.....436  
 Logan, Andrew..... 11  
 Logan, Gen. John A..86, 92, 93  
 Loguen, J. W.....372  
 Long, Matthew.....156  
 Longfellow, Henry W..84, 85, 91  
 Longstreet, Maj. Gen. James. 93  
 Looby, John H.....400  
 Loomis, Capt. Aaron M.....320  
 Lorenz, Dr. Adolph..... 8  
 Lott, Mr..... 95  
 Lott, Henry..... 96  
 Loughridge, William...394, 409  
 410.  
 Love, Judge James M...12, 119  
 219, 255, 539.  
 Lovejoy, Owen.....188  
 Lovewell, John.....502, 503  
 Low, Daniel.....606  
 Lowe, Dr. E.....4, 7  
 Lowe, Enos.....163, 176  
 Lowe, Ralph P..2, 12, 197, 235  
 247, 249, 257, 258, 408, 409, 410  
 433.  
 Lowell, Abbott Lawrence...570  
 Lowell, James Russell...86, 87  
 90, 91.  
 Lowrey, Father.....643  
 Lucas, Robert ..92, 528, 531, 551  
 Lund, Thomas .....501  
 Luther, Martin.....572  
 Lyman, Joseph.....317  
 Lynch, H. B.....412  
 Lyon, J. K. ....544  
 Maben, Charles B..... 40  
 McCall, J. D.....293  
 McCarger, Alfred T..... 40  
 McCartney, David.....289  
 Macauley, Thomas B..84, 85, 86  
 McCleary, George W.....288  
 McClure, A. K.....248  
 McCormick, Cyrus ..... 80  
 McCoy, James.....289  
 McCraney, Orlando.....273  
 McCrary, George W.....548  
 McCrary, John.....546  
 McCreery, J. L.....329  
 McDaniel, Mr.....472  
 McEwen, J. P.....412  
 McFarland, Samuel....407, 408  
 412.  
 McFarland, Col. Samuel C... 76  
 McFarland, Silas Clarke.... 76  
 McGavic, William S.....274  
 McGavren, James K.....559  
 McGregor, Alexander W.... 15  
 McGregor, William.....358  
 McGugin, D. L.....4, 7  
 McIntyre, Mrs. Ella Slack...301  
 McIntyre, Marcena.....508  
 McJunkin, John F.....143, 410  
 McKell, James.....197  
 Mackin, Father.....643  
 McKinley, William...79, 93, 160  
 435.  
 McKinstry, Gen. Justus.....134  
 Mackintire, E. P.....622, 623  
 Mackintire, George.....621  
 Mackintire, Mary A.....620  
 MacLean, George E.....239  
 McLean, John...53, 190, 191, 196  
 204, 209, 210, 211, 215, 219, 246  
 276, 281, 420, 443, 446.  
 McMahan, J. P.....166  
 McMillan, Edwin C.....398  
 McMillan, Mrs. E. C.....390  
 Macomber, John K.....39, 554  
 McPherson, Daniel.....158  
 McPherson, Gen. James B...92  
 93, 358, 609.  
 McPherson, Joseph.....158  
 McPherson, M. L...402, 409, 412  
 417, 418, 426, 433, 434, 435.  
 McPherson, Mary .....158  
 Macy, Jesse..... 48  
 Mad Bowl.....538  
 Madison, Henry.....458  
 Madison, James.....92, 93, 458  
 Mahaska .....146-148  
 Mahin, John ...52, 55, 197, 204  
 209, 219, 243, 262, 265, 269, 272  
 275, 278, 329, 404, 407, 444.  
 Mah-ne-hah-nah .....147  
 Maine, Sir Henry.....126  
 Mangold, Francis.....275, 416  
 Manning, Edwin ...213, 215, 546  
 547, 549.  
 Manning, Mrs. Edwin.....549  
 Manning, Henry Edward, Car-  
 dinal ..... 89  
 Manning, Rev. Joseph.....317  
 Manning, Orlando H.....317  
 Mansfield, William Murray..110  
 Marsh, Rev. Robert L.....634  
 Marshall, John .110, 119, 128, 129  
 130.  
 Martin, Rev. B. F.....642  
 Martin, Larkin M.....317, 318

- Martin, Sir Theodore K. C.  
     B. .... 83  
 Mason, Charles .... 12, 119, 176  
     532, 616.  
 Mason, James M. .... 93  
 Mason, John M. .... 260  
 Masson et Cie. .... 25  
 Mathews, James. .... 35, 36  
 Matthews, H. M. .... 4  
 Maxwell, Judge Augustus E. .... 116  
 Maxwell, Elizabeth. .... 380, 381  
 May, George. .... 423  
 Mayer, Louis. .... 635  
 Maynard, W. W. .... 223, 225, 251  
 Meade, John. .... 494  
 Meason, George. .... 278  
 Medill, Joseph. .... 246  
 Meek, Isaiah. .... 151  
 Melancthon, Philip. .... 567  
 Mendenhall, R. P. .... 286, 293  
 Mercer, Lydia. .... 23  
 Merchant, Harry. .... 504  
 Meredith, George. .... 91  
 Merrill, P. G. C. .... 412  
 Merrill, Samuel. .... 402, 408, 409  
     412.  
 Merritt, Col. H. H. .... 152  
 Mickey, John Hopwood. .... 559  
 Mill, John Stewart. .... 133  
 Millard, Mrs. C. I. .... 624  
 Miller. .... 246  
 Miller, Daniel F. .... 12, 540, 555  
 Miller, George L. .... 177  
 Miller, Rufus L. .... 515  
 Miller, Samuel F. .... 4, 105, 107  
     119, 255, 281, 539, 545.  
 Miller, William E. .... 14  
 Mills, Frank M. .... 329  
 Mills, Frederick D. .... 608  
 Milton, John. .... 128, 605  
 Mitchell, Judge Gilbert C. R. .... 12  
     13.  
 Mitchell, J. C. .... 412  
 Mitchell, James C. .... 174  
 Moberry, J. F. .... 4  
 Moliere. .... 9  
 Monroe, James. .... 92  
 Montgomery, Major. .... 337  
 Moore. .... 371  
 Moore, James. .... 452  
 Moore, Sir John. .... 91  
 Moore, Col. L. S. .... 364  
 Moore, Mrs. Phoebe L. .... 151  
 Moore, W. S. .... 404  
 Moorman, Mr. .... 143  
 Morgan, J. Pierpont. .... 153  
 Morris, M. L. .... 408, 413  
 Morris, Ruth McPherson. .... 158  
 Morris, T. A. .... 531  
 Morris, Zadok. .... 158  
 Morrow, James B. .... 221  
 Morseman, M. J. .... 4  
 Morton, Thomas. .... 167, 168  
 Mosby, Gen. John S. .... 93, 157  
 Mouton, Col. .... 337, 338  
 Muffly, Joseph Wendell. .... 79  
 Murdock, Samuel. .... 409  
 Nansen, Fridtjof. .... 89  
 Nasheaskuk. .... 531  
 Nealley. .... 608  
 Nealley, James. .... 580  
 Nealley, Mary D. .... 280, 616  
 Needham, Lieut. Gov. John  
     R. .... 329  
 Neff, Mary. .... 500  
 Negus, Charles. .... 297  
 Nelson, Rev. David. .... 575  
 Nelson, Jonathan. .... 151  
 Nelson, Isaac. .... 151  
 Nelson, Samuel. .... 108  
 Newcome, William. .... 606  
 Newman, John Henry, Cardi-  
     nal. .... 89  
 Nichols, Alice. .... 384  
 Nichols, John David. .... 157  
 Nicollet, Jean N. .... 101, 102, 103  
 Nicoma. .... 165  
 Nixon, Jonathan. .... 346  
 Noble, Dr. B. S. .... 413  
 Noble, Gen. John W. .... 255  
 Noble, L. C. .... 412, 417, 418, 426  
     433.  
 Noble, Judge Reuben. .... 419, 432  
     433, 435, 436.  
 Noble, Richard. .... 197  
 Nollen, Sara M. .... 151  
 Norris, J. W. .... 265, 407, 417, 418  
     426.  
 Norton, Frank C. .... 643  
 Nothington, Henry. .... 97  
 Nourse, Charles C. .... 213, 402, 404  
     409, 419, 420, 422, 432, 433, 539  
 Noyes, Laverne W. .... 40  
 Nuckolls, Lafayette. .... 174, 175  
     176.  
 Nugent, Father. .... 152  
 Nutting, Prof. Rufus. .... 324  
 Nye, Edgar Wilson. .... 91  
 Nye, James W. [Ney]. .... 295, 296  
 O'Connor, Henry. .... 218, 278, 282  
     283, 402, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412  
     413, 417, 418, 422, 426, 432, 433  
     434, 436.  
 Officer, Harvey. .... 108

- Officer, Thomas.....225  
 Ogletthorpe, James E.....609  
 Okely, John.....22  
 Oldham, T. R.....416  
 Olds, J. W.....293  
 O'Linda, William Van.....409  
 Ord, Gen. Edward O. C.....337  
 Orendorff, Gen. Alfred.....221  
 Orr, Jackson..407, 410, 412, 416  
 Osborne, Rev. Naboth...551, 640  
 Otis, George L.....108  
 Owen, Mrs. Diantha.....450  
 Owen, John Ervin.....450  
 Owen, Sir Richard.....87, 88  
 Owen, Thomas M.....148, 149  
 Owens, Mr.....168, 450  
 Oxford, Edward Harley, Earl  
   of .....381  
 Paine, Clarence S.....148, 149  
 Palmer, Col. David.....134, 140  
 Palmer, Frank W...62, 209, 242  
   262, 263, 264, 329, 443.  
 Palmer, Leroy L.....539  
 Palmer, Luke .....608  
 Palmer, Luke, Jr.....630, 638  
 Palmer, S. R.....136  
 Paris, Louis Philippe Compt  
   de .....337  
 Parish, John.....396  
 Parish, Leonard Woods.....396  
 Parker, Ada L.....621  
 Parker, Celinda .....449, 450  
 Parker, Francis .....449, 451  
 Parker, Francis Jackson...451  
 Parker, John .....498  
 Parker, Mrs. Rhoda Chaplin..449  
 Parker, Judge Richard..368, 373  
   377.  
 Parrott, Gen. James C.....69  
 Parsons, A. A.....40  
 Parsons, C. B.....608  
 Pattee, John.....408, 412  
 Pattison, Joseph W.....167  
 Patton, Daniel J.....398  
 Paul, C. Kegan.....88  
 Paxton, J. T.....346  
 Peabody, Rev. Charles.....600  
 Pearsall, Cyrus A..464, 479, 482  
 Pearsall, George .....464  
 Pearsall, Harriet M.....455  
 Pearsall, Mrs. Phoebe.....464  
 Pearsall, Mrs. Rhoda Parker.451  
   464.  
 Pearsall, Samuel.....449, 455  
 Pearsall, William .....449, 451  
 Pearsall, William R...451, 464  
   475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481.  
 Pearson, Capt.....500  
 Peas, Mr.....96  
 Peaseley, Mrs. F. J. C.....608  
 Peck, George R.....106  
 Peck, W. W.....293  
 Pelzer, Louis.....407  
 Penn, William.....609  
 Pericles .....113  
 Perkins, Maj. Albert A.....616  
 Perkins, Rev. Charles E...642  
 Perkins, Charles Elliott...636  
 Perkins, Mrs. Charles Elliott.636  
 Perkins, George D.....321  
 Perkins, George Willard...399  
 Perkins, Judge J. ....540  
 Perkins Bros. ....329  
 Peterson, Henry .....223  
 Phelps, Judge Charles H....90  
 Phelps, Edward J. ....90  
 Philips, John F. ....114  
 Phillips, Wendell .....216  
 Pickett, Maj. Gen. George E..93  
 Pickett, Rev. Joseph W.....616  
 Pierce, E. L. ....430  
 Pierce, Franklin...195, 261, 280  
   555.  
 Pierson, Dr. E. W.....452, 453  
 Pierson, Johnson .....533  
 Plumbe, John .....180  
 Poe, Edgar Allan .....91  
 Polk, James K. ....93  
 Polk, Jefferson S. ....539  
 Pomeroy, Charles .....410, 416  
 Pomeroy, Gen. Samuel Clark.274  
 Poppleton, Andrew J. ....179  
 Porter, Will .....48, 205, 264  
 Porterfield, Charles E. ....40  
 Posten, Andrew .....450  
 Posten, James .....450  
 Posten, John .....450  
 Powell, Mr. ....450, 460  
 Powell, Mrs. Elizabeth .....450  
 Powell, Maj. John W.....554  
 Powell, Judge John C.....563  
 Powers, J. H.....412, 415  
 Pratt, M. C. ....327  
 Pray, Gilbert B. ....78, 79  
 Prentice, George D. ....217  
 Preston, I. M. ....552  
 Preston, Mrs. Ruth Irish...284  
 Price, Anna .....15  
 Price, Hiram .....13, 131  
 Price, Gen. Sterling.....134  
 Pritchard, William S.....544  
 Purple, Hascall C.....174  
 Pusey, W. H. M.....181, 225  
 Putnam, Charles E.....13

- Putnam's Sons, G. P..... 25  
 Queal, Rev. Atchison.....510  
 Queal, John H. & Co.....514  
 Queal, Mrs. Lucy French....514  
 Queal, P. A. ....412  
 Quick, William H.....77, 151  
 Quinn, J. C. ....407  
 Quinn, James .....275  
 Ragsdale, Sergt. J. S....346, 354  
*Railroad Bridge Co., Hurd vs.* 219  
 Ramage, Adam ..... 81  
 Ramming, Henry ..275, 412, 421  
 Ranck, Cyrus S. .... 78  
 Rand, Mrs. Carrie.....612  
 Rand, E. D. ....608, 612  
 Rand, H. S. ....636  
 Rand, Mrs. H. S. ....636  
 Randall, A. ....95, 100  
 Randleman, Winfield R..... 40  
 Rankin, John W....281, 283, 409  
     412, 418, 432, 433, 434, 539.  
 Rankin, Thomas .....549  
 Ransom, Charles T. ....540  
 Ransom, E. D. ....4, 7  
 Ransom, Dr. S. S. ....608  
 Rauch, J. H. ....4, 7  
 Reagan, John H.....261  
 Realf, Richard .....372  
 Rector, Benjamin...418, 432, 433  
     434.  
 Redfield, Israel .....520  
 Redfield, J. S. ....326  
 Redfield, Col. James.....520  
 Reed, Daniel .....167, 168  
 Reed, Rev. Julius A....571, 582  
     583, 589.  
 Reed, H. W. ....531  
 Reed, Judge J. R.....399  
 Reeder, George ..... 4  
 Reese, Margaret .....382  
 Reid, Harvey .....391, 392, 553  
 Reid, Hugh T. ....235, 274  
 Remick, Gen. David.....616  
 Retz, Gilles de .....24, 25  
 Reynolds, J. J.....556  
 Reynolds, S. H. ....544  
 Rhodes, James F.....271, 424  
 Rice, Gen. Elliott W..... 93  
 Rice, Atty. Gen. Samuel A...274  
 Rich, Jacob ...192, 204, 265, 425  
 Richards, Dr. .... 6  
 Richards, Seth .....588  
 Richards, William..209, 211, 264  
 Richman, Irving B.....231  
 Richman, J. Scott..... 12  
 Richter, August P. ....444  
 Richter, H. W. ....275  
 Rier, Hannah D. L.....334  
 Riley, James Whitcomb..... 91  
 Ring, Paul B.....289, 297  
 Ripley, Rev. Erastus.....576  
 Rippey, R. M. ....412  
 Robb, James M..... 80  
 Robbins, Dr. Alden B..576, 577  
     579, 580, 581, 584, 585, 588, 589  
     595, 597, 608, 628.  
 Robbins, Mrs. Alden B.....584  
 Robbins, Horace Hutchinson.579  
 Roberts, Alfred .....151  
 Roberts, Mrs. Alfred.....151  
 Roberts, Isaac P.....36, 239  
 Robinson, Rev. Demas.....413  
 Robinson, Prof. Edward.606, 607  
 Robinson, Dr. J..... 4  
 Robinson, William O..... 40  
 Rodrick, Sergt. B. H.....358  
 Rogers, Mr. ....482  
 Rogers, John .....495  
 Rogers, John N..... 13  
 Rogers, Mary .....495  
*Rogers vs. the City of Bur-*  
     *lington* .....545  
 Roosevelt, Theodore ..... 93  
 Root, Lusannah .....504  
 Rorer, David .....12, 74, 525  
 Rose, Judge U. M..111, 112, 113  
     114..  
 Rose, Mrs. U. M.....113  
 Ross, Col. William.....506  
 Ross, Dr. William R....524, 525  
     526, 527, 529, 530.  
 Rosseau, Dr. W. H..... 4  
 Rossetti, Christina .....89, 92  
 Rossetti, Dante Gabriel..89, 92  
     153.  
 Rossetti, Helen .....153  
 Rossetti, William Michael... 89  
     153.  
 Rothstein, F. E.....450  
 Rowan, Capt. ....364  
 Rowland, Dunbar .....149  
 Ruddick, George W.....409  
 Rumer, Benedict .....358  
 Rusch, Nicholas J..222, 242, 244  
     275, 408, 412, 417, 418, 430, 433  
     434.  
 Rushton, Enos .....358  
 Russell, Ed .....329  
 Russell, Capt. Milton P....157  
 Rutherford, Thomas .....368  
 Rutledge, Anne .....227  
 Rutledge, Mrs. James.....227



- Rutledge, Robert B.....227, 517  
 Sabin, Daisy N.....236  
 Sabin, Henry .....77  
 Safely, John .....412  
 St. Clair, Robert .....157  
 Sala, George Augustus.....91  
 Sala, Mrs. Sarah Douthitt... 23  
 Salter, Benjamin .....623  
 Salter, Mrs. Mary A....619, 624  
 Salter, Mrs. Mary Turner....625  
 Salter, Dr. Richard.....631  
 Salter, Sumner .....625  
 Salter, Dr. William...92, 211, 218  
     271, 525, 561, 644.  
 Salter, William M.....625  
 Sample, Sarah J.....549  
 Sampsel, Mr. ....452  
 Sampson, Francis A....148, 149  
 Samuels, Ben. M.....12  
 Sanborn, Frank B.....260  
 Sanborn, Gen. John B.....108  
 Sands, John Dozier.....158  
 Sanders, Mr. ....144  
 Sanders, Gen. Addison H....11,  
     12, 57, 58, 198, 199, 204-204  
     209, 407, 444.  
 Sanders, Alfred ....11, 12, 262  
     265, 275.  
 Sanders, J. H.....414  
 Sanford, John F.....4, 6 7  
 Santee, Milton .....220  
 Sarpy, Peter A....165, 166, 168  
 Saum, George .....80  
 Saunders, Col. Alvin....179, 180  
     181, 183, 280, 283, 402, 408, 411  
     417, 418, 426, 432, 433, 436.  
 Saunders, Pressley .....280  
 Savage, G. S. F.....634  
 Savage, John .....204  
 Schenck, Robert .....205  
 Scholte, Henry .....253  
 Scholte, Henry P...151, 253, 254  
     266, 415, 416, 422, 430, 431, 432  
     441.  
 Schricker, L. ....275  
 Scofield, Hiram .....412  
 Scott, Winfield S....53, 93, 204  
 Scribners, Charles, Sons....155  
 Scott, Levi .....531  
 Scott, Sir Walter.....492, 605  
 Scott, William ....455, 464, 476  
     482.  
 Sedgwick, Catherine .....214  
 Seaward, Elizabeth ....508, 510  
 Seeley, Thomas ...242, 244, 417  
     418, 419, 432, 433.  
 Seevers, George W. ....337  
 Semmes, Admiral Thomas... 93  
 Sell, Adam .....513  
 Sells, Elijah .....281  
 Settler, Mr. ....142  
 Seward, Wm. H....46, 50, 53  
     59, 60, 62, 92, 190, 191, 194  
     195, 196, 197, 198, 203, 204, 214  
     215, 216, 217, 244, 247, 248, 249  
     266, 268, 274, 276, 281, 282, 283  
     420, 421, 423, 428, 429, 441, 442  
     443, 444, 446.  
 Shackford, Albert S....581, 607  
     615.  
 Shakespeare, William ...83, 88  
     128, 561, 568, 605.  
 Shaler, Gen. Alexander.....556  
 Shambaugh, Benjamin F....149  
     231, 232, 247.  
 Shane, John .407, 409, 412, 419  
     432, 433, 434.  
 Sharp, Joseph L.....174, 175  
 Shaw, Henry W., "Josh Bil-  
     lings" .....91  
 Shaw, Mr. John .....587  
 Shaw, Mrs. John .....587  
 Shaw, Lemuel .....110  
 Shaw, William T.....238  
 Sheldon, Mrs. Ruth .....608  
 Shepard, John .....494, 495  
 Shepherd, James M.....546  
 Sherfey, John M.....610  
 Sherfey, Mrs. Mary A.....610  
 Sheridan, Philip Henry.....93  
 Sherman, Buren R.....84  
 Sherman, Hoyt .....177  
 Sherman, J. W.....407  
 Sherman, John .....208, 407  
 Sherman, Gen. William T....78  
     92, 93, 320, 553, 559, 560, 609  
     616, 626.  
 Shinn, Moses .....165  
 Shiras, Oliver P.....75  
 Shutts, J. H. ....412  
 Sickles, Maj. Gen. Daniel E.. 93  
 Sigler, Meshach .....546  
 Sullivan, Benjamin.....214  
 Simons, M. ....497  
 Singer, Dr. G.....452, 453  
 Sitting Bull .....165  
*Skinner vs. Henderson* .....116  
 Slack, Allen ..284, 286, 289, 291  
     292, 299, 300.  
 Sledge, Mr. ....346, 347  
 Sleeth, John C.525, 526, 527, 530  
 Slidell, John .....93

- Sloan, Hugh B.....517  
 Sloan, Judge Robert...515, 517,  
     522, 545, 548, 550.  
 Smith, Maj. Gen. A. J.....238  
 Smith, Mrs. Caroline Young.152  
 Smith, Charles A.....40  
 Smith, Garrett .....360, 370  
 Smith, Irving W.....40  
 Smith, Capt. John.....609  
 Smith, John L.....544  
 Smith, Joseph .....164, 167  
 Smith, Joseph F.....515, 516  
 Smith, Kirby .....93  
 Smith, Lewis H.....409  
 Smith, Dr. N. M.....510  
 Smith, Mrs. Ona Ellis.380, 382  
 Smith, Platt .....12  
 Smith, S. F.....115  
 Smith, Spencer .....398, 399  
 Smith Brothers .....512  
 Smith-Hamil family .....141  
 Smyth, Judge William..12, 409  
     410, 411, 412, 419, 432, 433, 434  
     435, 436.  
 Snow, Joseph .....503  
 Snowden, Samuel .....78  
 Snyder, Simon .....462, 478  
 Solis, Daniel .....467  
 Southworth, Ezra .....326  
 Spaulding, Rev. Benjamin A.576  
     585, 589, 590, 595, 596, 628.  
 Speight, Col. J. W. .337, 338, 339  
 Spicer, Wells .....407, 409  
 Springer, Arthur .....635  
 Springer, Judge Francis.92, 635  
     636.  
 Springer, Frank .....636  
 Spurgeon, Rev. Charles H...91  
 Squires C. P.....636  
 Squires, Mrs. C. P.....636  
 Stalker, Millikan .....40, 239  
 Stannard, Edwin O.....548  
 Stanton, Edgar W.....40  
 Stanton, F. P.....50  
 Stark, John .....501  
 Starr, Henry W.....569, 608  
 Starr, William H...12, 581, 608  
 Stearns, John .....496  
 Stearns, Mrs. Mary Lathrop.496  
 Stedman, Edmund C.....91  
 Steele, Alice M.....233  
 Steele, Gen. Fred .....134, 239  
 Steele, N. ....4  
 Steele, Sir. Richard .....114  
 Stephenson, George .....398  
 Stevens, A. Dwight.....368  
 Stevens, Andrew J.249, 265, 406  
     407, 408, 413.  
 Stevens, George L.....361  
 Stevens, John L.....40  
 Stevens, Thaddeus .....435  
 Stever, David .....508  
 Stewart, Mr. ....482  
 Stewart, Charles W.....320  
 Stewart, David .....556  
 Stewart, George B.....551  
 Stiles, Edward H....1, 18, 104  
     560.  
 Stipp, Harley H.....558  
 Stockton, Judge Lacon D....275  
     410, 515.  
 Stone, Mrs. Caroline Mathews  
     320  
 Stone, Gov. William M..320, 407  
     409, 413, 419, 432, 433, 434,  
 Storrs, Rev. John.....631  
 Storrs, Richard Salter...589, 631  
 Story, Joseph .....128  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher.....91  
 Stratton, Franklin A.....413  
 Street, Joseph D.....163  
 Street, Joseph M.....92, 589  
 Street, Mrs. Joseph M.....589  
 Strong, Henry .....539  
 Stuart, Addison A.....397  
 Stuart, J. E. B.....362, 364  
 Stuart, Moses .....607  
 Stubbs, Bishop .....92  
 Stull, O. H. W.....197  
 Suksdorf, Charles L.....40  
 Summers, Col. Samuel W....555  
 Sumner, Charles .....276, 430  
 Swan, George M.....407, 544  
 Swigart, Rudy .....40  
 Swiggert, Seth W.....202  
 Swan, Judge Joseph R..187, 188  
 Tabor, S. J. W.....417  
 Tally, Cyphert .....142, 143  
 Tarbell, Ida M.....246, 435  
 Taylor, Bayard .....91  
 Taylor, Calvin .....412  
 Taylor, E. P.....346, 355, 356  
 Taylor, Hawkins ..226, 282, 283  
     407, 414.  
 Taylor, Dr. James.....627  
 Taylor, Gen. Zachary....13, 91  
     411.  
 Teeling, E. A.....523  
 Teesdale, John.....52, 53, 54,  
     63, 186, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196  
     198, 199, 202, 204, 205, 209, 210  
     212, 216, 225, 243, 252, 262, 263  
     265, 276, 425, 427, 443.

- Tegetmier, William B..... 87  
 Terry, W. H. ....220  
 Temple, Edward Ames.....158  
 Temple, Major George.....158  
 Temple, Polly .....508  
 Templin, James D..... 78  
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord..84, 87  
     89, 133, 518.  
 Tennyson, Mrs. Alfred.....133  
 Terrill, Corp. John .....358  
 Terry, David S. ....236  
 Test, Judge Charles H.....223  
 Thayer, Eli ..... 50  
 Thayer, Gen. John M.....183  
 Theard, Col. ....344  
 Themistocles .....564  
 Thomas, Otha .....438  
 Thomas, R. I. ....407  
 Thompson, Dr. Edward.....487  
 Thompson, J. D. N.....174  
*Thompson, J. Edgar vs. the*  
*County of Lee* .....545  
 Thompson, John W.....275, 409  
     419, 433, 540.  
 Thompson, Tom L..... 40  
 Thompson, Rev. W. A...583, 584  
 Thompson, William .....373  
 Thorington, James .....15, 410  
 Thrift, Brig. Gen. William H.  
     155  
 Thurston, Samuel R.....608  
 Thwaites, Reuben G.....386  
 Tillotson, C. H..... 40  
 Tillotson, Mrs. F. L.....156  
 Tilden, Judge Daniel R.....368  
 Tilden, Samuel J.....394  
 Tinley, Emmet .....399  
 Todd, John .....231  
 Toombs, Gen. Robert..... 93  
 Towne, J. M. ....358  
 Townsend, Alfred H.....168  
 Townsend, Peninah .....158  
 Townsend, Norton S. [Town-  
     send] .....27, 35  
 Treager, W. H. ....630  
 Traer, J. C. ....407, 408  
 Traer & Gilchrist .....157  
 Treat, Calphurna .....510  
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips... 85  
     86.  
 Trevelyan, Mrs. Charles.... 85  
 Trevelyan, Sir George O..84, 86  
 Trevelyan, Lady Hannah..85, 86  
 Trevor, H. S. ....197  
 Trimble, Henry Hoffman....393  
 True, David S..... 13  
 Trumbull, Lyman .....196  
 Trumbull, Col. Mathew M...144  
 Tucker, Hiram A.....289  
 Turley, Mr. ....390  
 Turner, Rev. Asa..571, 574, 575  
     582, 583, 584, 589, 617.  
 Turner, Rev. Edwin B..576, 577  
     579, 584, 586, 587, 588, 589, 598,  
     599.  
 Turner, John .....467  
 Tuthill, Judge W. H.....449  
 Tuttle, Gen. James M....92, 549  
 Tuttle, Michael .....505  
 Tuttle, Phineas .....504  
 Tyler, Clarissa .....322  
 Tyler, John .....322  
 Tyng, Jonathan .....500, 502  
 Tzchuck, Bruno .....179  
 Valentine, E. K.....548  
 Van Anda, S. C.....412  
 Vanata, William .....140  
 Van Buren, Martin ....284, 616  
 Vandever, Gen. William....338  
     427.  
 Van Hyning, Thompson....233  
 Van Horne, George H.....278  
 Victoria, Queen .....83, 88  
 Villard, Oswald Garrison...388  
 Volk, Leonard W.....567  
 Von Holst, Herman E...270, 271  
 Wade, Benjamin F..57, 196, 246  
     274, 446.  
 Wade, Frank ..... 57  
 Wade, Isaac E..... 22  
 Wait, Richard .....197  
 Waite, John L.....46, 551  
 Walker, Dr. J. C.....402, 418  
 Walker, Thomas A.....289  
 Walker, William .....501  
*Walkley vs. The City of Bur-*  
*lington* .....545  
 Wallace, Mr. ....452  
 Wallace, Henry ..... 76  
 Wallace, Mrs. Nannie (Cant-  
     well) ..... 76  
 Wanzer, J. I. ....286, 299  
 Wapashesheck .....531  
 Wapello .....589  
 Ward, W. P. ....412  
 Ware, H. B. ....608  
 Waring, Rev. Edmund H...524  
     531, 643.  
 Warren, Bennett .....463  
 Warren, Fitz Henry....265, 275  
     407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 438,  
 Warren, William A.408, 419, 432

- Washburn, L. H. .... 278  
 Washington, Booker T. .... 92  
 Washington, George .... 360, 363  
 382, 361, 563, 605, 609, 614.  
 Washington, Col. Lewis W. .... 363  
 Waterhouse, Mrs. Julia A. .... 335  
 Waterman ..... 13  
 Waterman, Amanda ..... 508  
 Watson, Archibald Robinson. .... 117  
 Watters, William H. .... 168  
 Wattles, Mason J. .... 40  
 Watts, Isaac ..... 68  
 Wayland, Dr. Francis ..... 486  
 Wead, Charles Kasson. .... 227  
 Weare, Mr. .... 176  
 Weaver, Gen. James B. .... 1, 152  
 409, 410, 411, 413.  
 Webb, James Watson ..... 194  
 Webber, T. B. .... 275  
 Webster, Alisanna ..... 23  
 Webster, Daniel .... 23, 116, 247  
 436, 441, 491, 561, 598, 606, 640  
 Webster, William ..... 515  
 Weed, Thurlow .. 200, 214, 215  
 271.  
 Weik, J. W. .... 188, 220  
 Weiser, Conrad ..... 506  
 Welch, Adonijah S. .... 27, 30  
 31, 32, 33, 34, 36.  
 Weld, Mr. .... 503  
 Wellington, Duke of. .... 91  
 Wellman, Calvin P. .... 40  
 Wells, John M. .... 40  
 Wentworth, John ..... 202  
 West ..... 22  
 West, Jake [Chequest] .... 523  
 Wheeler, Daniel H. .... 179  
 Wheeler, Hiram C. .... 318  
 Wheeler, J. M. .... 554  
 Wheeler, William A. .... 395  
 Whicher, Geo. M. .... 66  
 Whipple, William P. .... 558  
 Whitaker, E. W. .... 40  
 Whitcomb, Miss Mary R. 65, 66  
 73, 230, 232.  
 White, Adam ..... 450  
 White, Charles Abiathar. .... 554  
 White Cloud ..... 327  
 White, Dr. Frank N. .... 641  
 White, George ..... 66  
 White, Gilbert ..... 92  
 White, Horace ..... 188  
 White, John ..... 450, 460  
 White, S. V. .... 545  
 White, Samuel ..... 450  
 White, Simpson S. .... 530  
 Whitefield, George ..... 620  
 Whiting, Dr. Lyman. .... 622  
 Whitman, Walt ..... 91  
 Whitney, Asa ..... 180  
 Whitney, W. C. .... 246  
 Whittaker, Mrs. Nellie French ..... 514  
 Whittier, John Greenleaf. .... 91  
 Wicks, William ..... 483  
 Wiegand, Adeline A. .... 152  
 Wigfall, Louis T. .... 93  
 Wilde, William ..... 556  
 Wilder, G. .... 293  
 Williams, A. L. .... 105, 106  
 Williams, Ezra ..... 505  
 Williams, George H. .... 555  
 Williams, Herrick ..... 40  
 Williams, Jesse ..... 176  
 Williams, Reuben ..... 178  
 Williams, W. H. .... 469  
 Williamson, Gen. James A. .... 92  
 93.  
 Wilson, Capt. .... 589  
 Wilson, Mrs. Alisanna (Webster) ..... 23  
 Wilson, Christopher ..... 23  
 Wilson, James ..... 23  
 Wilson, James F. .... 255, 280, 283  
 402, 407, 408, 410, 411, 415, 417  
 418, 423, 426, 432, 433, 435, 436  
 439.  
 Wilson, Gen. James H. .... 59  
 Wilson, Jerry M. .... 556  
 Wilson, John ..... 23  
 Wilson, Mrs. Lydia (Mercer) 23  
 Wilson, Dr. Thomas .... 19, 22  
 23, 25.  
 Wiltse, Henry ..... 539  
 Wiltshire, J. C. .... 375  
 Winchester, Benjamin ..... 174  
 Winters, J. .... 293  
 Winters, R. P. .... 293  
 Wise, Henry Alexander .... 366  
 Wisely, Harriet ..... 237  
 Wishelamaqua ..... 531  
 Wittenmyer, Mrs. Annie .... 69  
 Witter, Dr. Amos .. 412, 449, 464  
 Wolcott, Ellen ..... 156  
 Wood, Miss ..... 494  
 Wood, Harvey ..... 512  
 Woodin, George D. .... 407, 413  
 Woodruff, Marcus C. .... 159  
 Woodward, Judge W. G. .... 12, 235  
 539.  
 Woolson, John S. .... 76  
 Woolworth, J. M. .... 545



Worden, Admiral John L....	83	Wright, Rachel .....	548
Wordsworth, William .....	185	Wright, Thomas S. ....	548, 549
Work, W. A. ....	517	Wynn, W. H. ....	37, 38
Wright, Ed. ....	401, 402, 403, 407 409, 413, 414.	Young, George B. ....	108
Wright, George F. ....	515, 548	Young, Kendall .....	159
Wright, Judge George G. ....	2, 12 93, 119, 265, 410, 411, 515, 546 548, 549.	Young, J. B. ....	281
Wright, J. ....	286	Young, William C. ....	289, 291
Wright, Gov. Joseph A. ....	548, 549	Young, Estes & Co. ....	159
		Zeigler, Samuel B. ....	160
		Zieback, F. M. ....	202, 217, 249, 250 441.

## ARTICLES.

Abraham Lincoln and his Clients .....	389	Laying the Foundations. ....	26
Across the Plains in 1850. ....	447	Mississippi Valley Historical Association, The .....	148
Aldrich Collection, The. ....	152	New Publications .....	155, 391
Alexander Brown, his Family and Friends .....	545	Notable deaths ....	74, 156, 237 316, 393, 553.
Brief History of the French Family .....	493	Old-time Trapper, The .....	301
Brown, Judge Alexander. ....	515	Old Zion Church, Burlington, Iowa .....	524
Building of an Autograph Collection, The .....	81	Part of Iowa Men in the Organization of Nebraska, The .....	161
Defoe Family in Iowa, The. ....	380	Permanent Marking of Historic Sites .....	551
Dillon, Judge John F. ....	1, 104	Recollections of War Times. ....	134
Early Suggestions for an Inebriate Asylum .....	552	Recent Acquisitions .....	151
Editorial Transition .....	65	Removal of Gov. Briggs' body to Iowa .....	150
Escape of Iowa Soldiers from Confederate Prison .....	337	Republican Presidential Preliminaries in Iowa, 1859-1860 .....	241
Governor Kirkwood and the Skunk River War .....	142	Republican State Convention. ....	401
Hildreth, Azro Benjamin Franklin .....	321	Review of Dr. Wilson's Swastika, A .....	19
Historical Department of Iowa .....	229	Soliciting Contributions ....	313
Historical Portrait Collections .....	535	Statue of Mahaska .....	146
Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln. ....	45 186.	Sundry Unjust Burthens. ....	385
James W. Grimes and Abraham Lincoln in 1844. ....	234	Sword of Black Hawk. ....	521
Justice Samuel F. Miller and his first Circuit Court. ....	539	System in Mound Exploration .....	311
King, William Fletcher. ....	484	Trial of John Brown .....	359
Lyons and Iowa Central Railroad, The .....	284	Upper Des Moines Valley—1848 .....	94
		Whitcomb, Mary R. ....	66

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

- Aldrich Collection—  
 Autograph Letters, Manuscripts, Portraits ..... 81  
 Beyer, Mrs. Mary Queal.....493  
 Black Hawk Sword.....521  
 Blackford, J. E. (Group)....432  
 Bodkin, Simon, (Group)....346  
 Brandt, Isaac .....237  
 Boone Mound, Exploration of by the Historical Department of Iowa, 1908.....311  
 Brown, Alexander .....545  
 Butler, Jacob, (Group) ....432  
 Burns, Robert, Letter in the Aldrich Collection (fac-simile) ..... 91  
 Byers, W. W., (Group).....346  
 Caldwell, Henry Clay (Group) .....432  
 Caldwell, Joseph W., (Group) .....432  
 Clark, Dr. Elbert W.....393  
 Clark, R. L. B., (Group)....432  
 Daugherty, J. F., (Group)...346  
 Deemer, Horace E. ....161  
 Dillon, John F., steel portrait 1 104.  
 Duckworth, Capt. W. A.....337  
 Ellis, Capt. Albert .....380  
 Forbes, Robert, Jr., (Group).339  
 Goddard, Edwin, Page of Journal, 1848, fac-simile... 94  
 Grimes, James W., Autograph Letter to David Blair.196, 197  
 Group, Some of Iowa's Delegates and Alternates to Chicago Convention, 1860....432  
 Group, Union Soldiers Who Escaped from Confederate Prison .....346  
 Hamilton, W. W.....401  
 Historical, Memorial and Art Building .....229  
 Hoxie, H. M., (Group).....432  
 Hubbard, A. W., (Group)....432  
 Irish, Charles W.....241  
 Jordon, James H., Page of Accounts with the Indians (fac-simile) .....522  
 John French House, Dunstable, Mass. Built about 1720 .....501  
 King, William Fletcher.....535  
 Lincoln, Abraham, Autograph Letter of (fac-simile)....390  
 Lone Grave Bluff, Lyons, Ia., looking north .....298  
 Longfellow, Henry W., Autograph Copy of "The Arrow and the Song" (fac-simile) 84  
 Mahaska, Statue of, at Oska-loosa, Iowa .....146  
 Nixon, Jonathan, (Group)...346  
 Old Zion, First Capitol of Iowa .....528  
 Paxton, J. F., (Group).....346  
 Perkins, George D.....321  
 Ragsdale, J. S., (Group) ...346  
 Reid, Harvey .....553  
 Sherman's Hall, Des Moines, Iowa .....408  
 Slack, Allen .....284  
 Sloan, Judge Robert .....515  
 Swastika, The ..... 22  
 Taylor, E. P., (Group) ....346  
 Waring, Rev. E. H.....524  
 Welch, Adonijah S. .... 26  
 Whigs of Iowa, Circular to (fac-simile) .....197  
 Wilson, Dr. Thomas ..... 19  
 Wright, Ed. ....401

## ERRATA.

Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 174, Bennett,  
H. P., should be Bennet, H. P.

Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 167, Cassidy,  
J. P., should be Casady, J. P.

Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 92, Clark,  
James, should be Clarke, James.

Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 173, Cuming,  
F. B., should be Cuming, Thos.  
B.

Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 168, Davidson,  
Jacob, should be Dawson, Jacob.

Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 275, Guy, B.  
F., should be Gue, B. F.

Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 275, Gurley,  
Hugh, should be Gurley, W. H.  
F.

Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 275, Fitz, W.  
H., should be Gurley, W. H. F.

Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 295, 296, Ney,  
Gen., should be Nye, James W.

Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 93, Tombs,  
should be Toombs, Gen. Robert.

Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 27, 35, Town-  
send, N. S., should be Town-  
shend, N. S.







